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FOREWORD

A few words will suffice to explain the task which this journal has set itself and the object which it has in view. It aims at filling the urgent need for an organ to serve as a forum for all those concerned with research on Central Asia, in which such great strides have been made during the last decennia. The main emphasis will be laid on investigations dealing with the Turkic and Mongol peoples. For it was they who contributed in so many fields to the cultural growth of this region and who from there so frequently provided the impetus for important developments in practically the whole of Eurasia.

In order to pursue as diligently as possible its aim of making the Central Asiatic Journal a central organ in the true sense of the word, the Editorial Board deems it desirable to devote within the frame-work of the Journal a proportionate amount of space not only to the linguistic but also to other aspects of the culture of these peoples, viz. historical, archaeological, sociological, ethnological etc. To this end it appeals for the collaboration of all colleagues whose work embraces this field. Although, as has already been said, attention will be given primarily to research on the Turkic and Mongol tribes, contributions on Iranian and Tibetan subjects will also be welcomed in as far as they are related to the former themes. In the event of such articles proving unsuitable for inclusion in the journal on account of their length or otherwise, the publishers, Messrs. Mouton of The Hague and Messrs. Harrassowitz of Wiesbaden, plan to issue them in the form of special supplements, to appear as occasion requires.

For their willingness in this respect, as well as for the initiative which has led to the realization of our project, I wish to express to both firms the sincere thanks of the Editorial Board and of all contributors.

K. JAHN

ANTOINE MOSTAERT, CICM
AND
COMPARATIVE MONGOLIAN FOLKLORE

by

ROBERT A. RUPEN

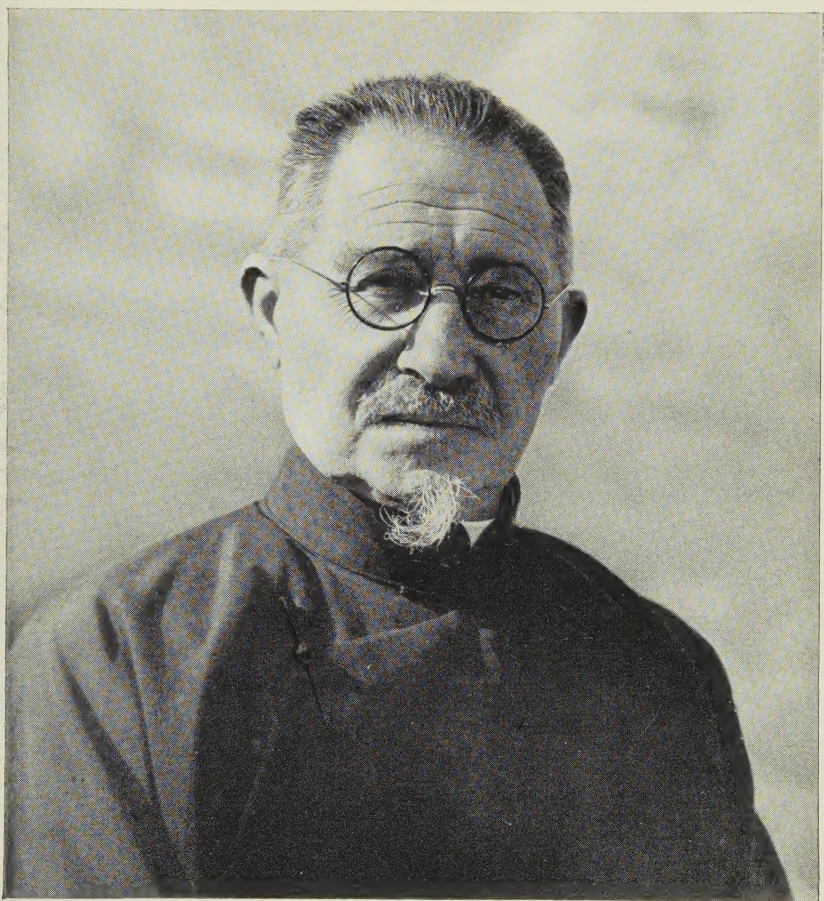
Cambridge, Mass.

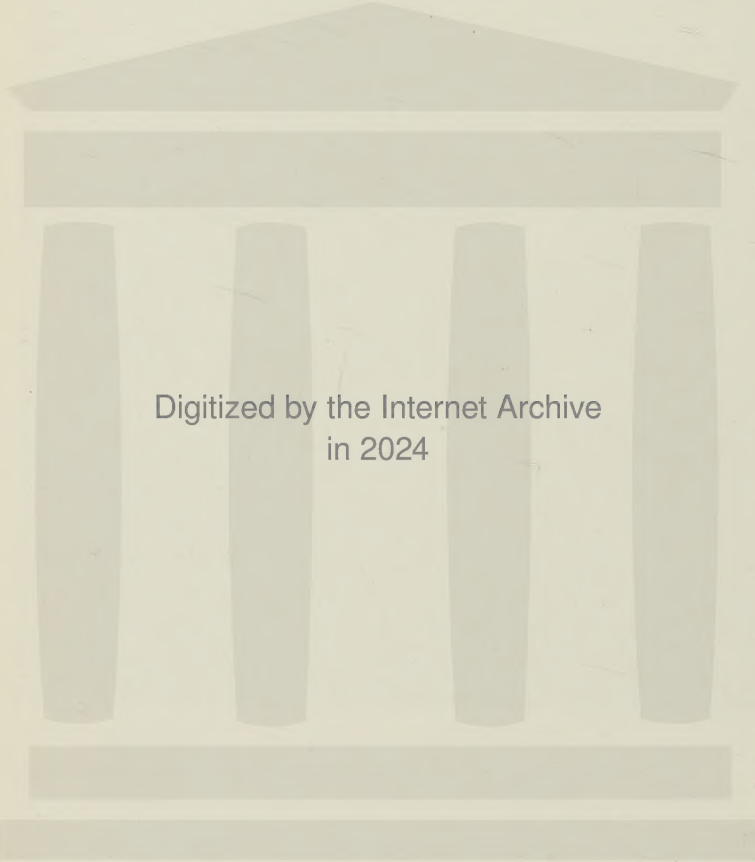
In the year 1955 will be celebrated the Reverend Antoine Mostaert's 50th anniversary of ordination as a priest, and of his being commissioned to China (September 13, 1905), and in 1956, his 75th birthday (born August 10, 1881, at Bruges). He went to the mission at Poro-Balgason, in the southern Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, in 1906, where he remained until October of 1925. Father Mostaert then went to Peking, where he remained with few interruptions for over twenty years, organizing and publishing the materials he had gathered in his long period of work in the Ordos, and making new contributions. In November of 1948 he left Peking, and in December, left Shanghai for Manila. On February 28, 1949, he arrived in New York, and since March of 1949 has been actively and vigorously pursuing his rich scholarly work at "Missionhurst" in Arlington, Virginia, U.S.A.

What was said of him while he was still in Peking, referring to 1945, may be repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, of him while at Missionhurst, referring to 1955: "Here in Peking scholars from every nation come to consult Father Mostaert and find in him a congenial scholar who is always ready to help them solve vexing problems and advise them how to pursue specialized scientific studies."

In the 1945 volume of *Monumenta Serica*, dedicated to Father Mostaert and from which the above is quoted, a bibliography lists seventeen of his works, ranging in date from 1914 to 1945, and in content from the great *Dictionnaire Ordos* in three volumes (1941, 1942, and 1944), to notes contributed to the Planchet edition of Huc's *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Thibet* published at Peking in 1924 (the frontispiece to this volume of *Monumenta Serica* presents Father Mostaert's portrait).

To this earlier bibliography, I should like to add a translation published





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in 1935, and several works which Father Mostaert has published since 1945. The translation is a Russian version of 'The Mongols of Kansu and their Language,' *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, volume 8 (1931), pp. 75-89 (item no. 10 in the *Monumenta Serica* bibliography):

10a. Moster, Antuan, 'Mongoly Gan'su i ikh yazyk' (perevod s angl. Kallnikova). S predisloviem G. D. Sanzheeva. V knige *Yazyki Zaru-bezhnogo Vostoka*, sbornik I. Pod red. K. Alaverdova (Moskva, 1935), pp. 94-107.

Father Mostaert's more recent publications include (numerical sequence that of *Monumenta Serica* bibliography):

18. *Folklore Ordos* (*Traduction des Textes oraux ordos*), *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph Series XI (Peip'ing, 1947), pp. viii + 606. [Translation of *Textes oraux ordos*, *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph Series I (Peip'ing, 1937), pp. lxx + 768. (Item no. 14 in *Monumenta Serica* bibliography.)]

19. 'Trois passage de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,' *Studia Orientalia*, XIV (Helsinki, 1950), pp. 7.

20. 'A propos du mot širol'ya de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,' *HJAS*, XII (1950), pp. 470-476.

21. 'Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,' *HJAS*, XIII (1950), pp. 285-361; XIV (1951), pp. 349-403; XV (1952), pp. 285-407.

22. (With Francis Woodman Cleaves), 'Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,' *HJAS*, XV (1952), pp. 419-506 + 8 plates.

23. Introduction to *Altan tobči*, *A Brief History of the Mongols*, *Scripta Mongolica I* (Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1952), pp. ix-xxi.

24. 'Remarques sur le paragraphe 114 de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,' *Central Asiatic Journal*.

Work completed but not yet published:

25. Introduction to Rudolf Loewenthal's translation of Ts. Zhamtsarano's *Mongol'skie letopisi XVII veka*; English title, *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* (announced for publication by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden).

26. 'Le mot Natigay/Nacigay chez Marco polo' — reference by Francis Woodman Cleaves in *HJAS*, XVII (1954), p. 124.

27. *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, by Saγang Sečen, *Scripta Mongolica II* (Harvard-Yenching Institute). Including an introduction, three manuscripts of the text, a copy of an 18th-century map of the Ordos country and Father Mostaert's note about the map.

Of the recent work of Father Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos* is here the

subject of an attempt to place it in relation to other work on Mongolian folklore and epics. This will be done only bibliographically, not critically, and in any case only in an exploratory manner. The degree to which the experience of hearing the same stories, listening to the same songs, idolizing the same heroes, and hating the same villains, forged among various Mongolian groups a common link and contributed to "Mongolian nationalism" and/or "Pan-Mongolism" is one of many problems about which the cited works offer important evidence.

In this realm of comparative Mongolian folklore, Father Mostaert's main contributions are the aforesaid *Folklore Ordos* and the *Textes oraux ordos* from which it is translated. The introduction to the latter work specifically cites sources for parallel stories and songs found in parts of Mongolia other than the Ordos (see particularly, pp. XII-XVI).

Shirokogoroff's review of *Textes oraux ordos*¹ calls on Professor Poppe's authority to point out that use of the great work collected by Tsyben Zhamtsarano, principally among the Buriats, is limited in scientific value because he never translated it from the Mongolian transcription in which it was published,² and certainly Father Mostaert's translation of his work into French is of inestimable value.

Also, parts of Father Mostaert's *Ordosica* [Bulletin No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking (November, 1934)] are relevant to comparative study of Mongolian lore: 'Sanang Setsen dans la légende' (pp. 67-72); 'Deux légendes ordos relatives à Tsingis-Khan' (pp. 73-77); and 'Quelques poésies ordos' (pp. 78-96).

In addition, Father Mostaert in the third volume (1944) of his great *Dictionnaire ordos* includes an ethnographic and folklore index (pp. 913-945) of primary importance.

The folklore common to widely separated areas of Mongolia is graphically pointed up by a single, and simple, example: Zhamtsarano's brief autobiographical note about his Buriat childhood³ recalls specifically the following which find echoes in Father Mostaert's record of Ordos lore: "the many-headed monstrous mangus" (cf. pp. 144-146, 598, *Folklore ordos*); "the trilogy — Gesne-Khan, Ardzhi Burdzhi Khan, Vikarmidzhid

¹ *Monumenta Serica*, III (1938), pp. 298-300. Haenisch's review, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XLI, No. 8-9 (1938), pp. 569-571, similarly requests a translation.

² The bibliography which follows in this article indicates which of Zhamtsarano's collections are now available in translation.

³ In 'Vvedenie (O sobiranii pamyatnikov mongol'skoï narodnoï slovesnosti),' pp. xi-xvi, in 'Epicheskie proizvedeniia Ekhrut-bulgatov. Kha-oshir Khubun,' *Proizvedeniia narodnoï slovesnosti Buryat. Obraztsy narodnoï slovesnosti mongol'skikh plemen. Teksty*, t. I, vyp. III (Petrograd, 1918).

Khan" (cf. pp. 251-323); "a poem about the two horses of Činggis Khan" (cf. pp. 328-336, and Chanson No. 1, p. 337). Much of the material collected by Zhamtsarano among the Buriats and Khalkhas finds counterpart in the material collected by Father Mostaert in the Ordos country.

Apart from Father Mostaert's work, the publications of Father Paul Serruys are available to us concerning Inner Mongolian folklore and epics: 'Folklore Contributions in Sino-Mongolica. Notes on Customs, Legends, Proverbs and Riddles of the Province of Jehol,' *Folklore Studies*, VI (1947), pp. 1-128, and 'Notes marginales sur le Folklore des mongols ordos,' *Han-hiue, Bulletin du Centre d'Études sinologiques de Pékin*, III, No. 1-2 (Peking, 1948), pp. 115-210.

The latter study, 'Notes marginales...', analyzes Father Mostaert's *Folklore ordos* and relates the themes and stories to those found in other parts of Mongolia and of the world. Toward further study of these literary (and hence cultural and political) elements common to the various parts of Mongolia, the following bibliography is offered here:

(A) Bibliography:⁴

B. Laufer, *Očerki mongol'skoj literatury*, perevod V.A. Kazakevicha pod redaktsiej i s predislovijem B. Ya. Vladimirtsova (Leningrad, 1927), pp. xxi+95. This translation adds Vladimirtsov's important supplementary bibliography to a Russian version of Berthold Laufer's bibliographical article, 'Skizze der mongolischen Literatur,' *Keleti Szemle - Revue orientale*, VIII (1907), pp. 165-261.

B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, 'Bibliografiya mongol'skikh skazok,' *Zhivaya Starina*, XXI (1912) [St. Petersburg, 1914], pp. 521-528.

A. D. Rudnev's bibliography, in part II, 'A Short Note on the Mongolian Epic,' in 'A Buriat Epic (Kha-Oshir, son of Khan Bugdur Khan),' *MSFO*, LII (1924), pp. 245-249.

N. N. Poppe, 'Russische Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der Mongolistik, 1914-1924,' *AM*, I, No. 2-4 (1924), pp. 676-681.

N. N. Poppe, 'Russische Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der Mongolistik während der Jahre 1926-1927,' *AM*, V, No. 2 (1928), pp. 214-224.

N. N. Poppe, 'Bibliografiya mongolovednoĭ literatura za 1917-1932,' *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, No. 5-6 (1934), pp. 37-50.

N. N. Poppe, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Mongolistik,' *ZDMG*, 100, 1 (1950), pp. 52-89.

E. N. Yakovleva, 'Bibliografiya Mongol'skoĭ Narodnoĭ Respubliki,' *Trudy nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ assotsiatsii po izucheniyu natsional'nykh i kolonial'nykh problem*, XVIII (Moskva, 1935), pp. 230. (Especially pp. 166-171.)

'Mongol'skaya Narodnaya Respublika. Bibliografii knizhnoĭ i zhurnal'noĭ literatury na russkom yazyka, 1935-1950 gg.,' *Trudy Mongol'skoĭ Komissii*, vyp. 42 (Akad. Nauk SSSR/Komitet Nauk MNR, Moskva, 1953), pp. 88. (Especially pp. 67-68.)

(B) Buriat Folklore and Epic Poetry:

Tsyben Zhamtsaranovich Zhamtsarano, 'Materialy k izucheniyu ustnoĭ literatury mongol'skikh plemen (Obraztsy narodnoĭ literatury buryat - Ekhrid i Bulgad),' *Zapiski*

⁴ Abbreviations employed in bibliography: *HJAS* - Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. *AM* - Asia Major. *ZDMG* - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. *WZKM* - Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlands. *MSFO* - Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.

vostochnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, XVII (1906) [St. Petersburg, 1907], pp. 0109-0128. (Mongolian transcription and Russian translation.)

Zhamtsarano, 'Obraztsy narodnoĭ slovesnosti mongol'skikh plemen, Teksty,' *Proizvedeniya narodnoĭ slovesnosti Buryat*, volume I: Part I (Petrograd, 1913). *Alamzhi-mergen (bylina)*, pp. 1-158. (Available in translation as: *Alamzhi-mergen. Buryatskii Epos* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), pp. 273. Translation by Ivan Novikov and commentary by G. Sanzheev.) – Part 2 (Petrograd, 1914). *Aidurai-mergen*, pp. 159-214, and *Irensei*, pp. 215-502. – Part 3 (Petrograd, 1918). Especially significant: includes Rudnev's biographical sketch of Zhamtsarano, pp. iii-viii; portrait of Zhamtsarano, p. x; and Zhamtsarano's introduction, divided into an autobiographical sketch, pp. xi-xvi, and a general discussion of the Mongolian epic, pp. xvii-xxxiv. Also includes, in Mongolian-transcription, *Kha-oshir-Khubun*, pp. 503-632, and a fragment of another version of the same epic, pp. 633-648. (This latter, the fragment, is available also in both English and Russian translation: A. Rudnev, 'A Buriat Epic (Kha Oshir, Son of Khan Bugdur Khan),' *MSFO*, LII (1924), pp. 238-245; A. D. Rudnev, 'Kha Oshir. Perevod otryvka buryatskoĭ byliny,' *Sbornik muzeya antropologii i etnografii pri Akad. Nauk SSSR*, t. V, vyp. II. *Ko dnyu 80-letiya akademika V. V. Radlova* (1837-1917), [Leningrad, 1917-1925], pp. 557-572.)

Zhamtsarano, *Proizvedeniya narodnoĭ slovesnosti Buryat*, volume II: Part I (Leningrad, 1930). *Geser-bogdo, epopeya*, pp. 1-166. – Part 2 (Leningrad, 1932). (Cycle of Geser, Oshor Bogdo, and Khurin-Altai), pp. 167-330.

B. Baradin, *Otryvki iz buryatskoĭ narodnoĭ literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1910).

G. D. Sanzheev, 'Po etapam razvitiya buryato-mongol'skogo geroicheskogo eposa,' *Sovetskii Fol'klor*, No. 4-5 (1936), pp. 58-67.

N. N. Poppe, 'Problemy izucheniya buryat-mongol'skogo fol'klora,' *Sovetskii Fol'klor*, No. 2-3 (1935), pp. 51-86.

N. N. Poppe, 'Problemy buryato-mongol'skogo literaturovedeniya,' *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk SSSR*, III (1935), pp. 13-37.

N. N. Poppe, 'Buryat-mongol'skii fol'klornyĭ i dialektologicheskii sbornik,' *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, XXI (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), pp. 168.

English versions of Buriat epics: Jeremiah Curtin, *A Journey in Southern Siberia. The Mongols, Their Religions and Their Myths* (London, 1909), pp. 125ff.

(C) Khalkha Folklore and Epic Poetry:

Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano i A. D. Rudnev, 'Obraztsy mongol'skoĭ narodnoĭ literatury, vyp. I, Khalkhaskoe narechie (teksty v transkriptsii),' *Izdaniya fakul'teta vostochnikh yazykov Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, No. 26 (St. Petersburg, 1908). Lithographed. Pp. 14 + CCLXXXVIII.

N. N. Poppe, 'Khalkha-mongol'skii geroicheskii epos,' *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, XXVI (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937), pp. 125.

N. N. Poppe, 'Zum Khalkhamongolischen Heldenepos,' *AM*, V (1928), pp. 183-213.

N. N. Poppe, 'Proizvedeniya narodnoĭ slovesnosti Khalkha-Mongolii. Severno-khalkhaskoe narechie,' *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk SSSR*, VIII, pp. 168.

(D) Oirat Folklore and Epic Poetry:

B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Mongolo-oiratskoĭ geroicheskoi epos. Vvedenie, perevod*. (Petrograd-Moscow, 1923). (This work also includes much information about Buriat epics.)

(E) Darkhad Folklore and Epic Poetry:

G. D. Sanzheev, *Darkhatskii govor i fol'klor* (Leningrad, 1931).

(F) Kalmyk Folklore and Epic Poetry:

F. v. Erdmann, 'Kalmückischer Dschangar, Erzählung der Heldentaten des erhabenen Bogdo-Chan Dschangar,' *ZDMG*, XI (1857), pp. 708-730.

A. Pozdnev, *Kalmytskaya Khrestomatiya* (St. Petersburg, 1892)

V. Kotvich, 'Kalmytsiya zagadki i poslovitsy,' *Izdaniya fakul'teta vostochnikh yazykov Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, No. 16 (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 110. (Bibliography of Kalmyk items, pp. VII-VIII; of Buriat, pp. VIII-IX; of "Mongolian", pp. IX-X.)

G. F. Ramstedt, 'Kalmückische Sprachproben,' *MSFO*, XXVII (1909).

Kalmytskii tekst 10 poem o khan Dzhangare, zapisannykh v 1908 g. N. Ochirovym, lithographed (St. Petersburg, 1910).

Dzhangar, geroicheskaya poema Kalmykov, s prilozheniem vnov' otkrytoi i pervoye izdavaemoi tret'ei glavy, v original'nom kalmytskom tekste. Edited by A. Pozdnev (St. Petersburg, 1911).

S. A. Kozin, *Dzhangariada. Geroicheskaya poem Kalmykov. Vvedenie v izuchenie pamyatnika i perevod torgutskoi ego versii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), pp. vi+252.

(G) Geser Khan

Bibliography in f.n. 1 and 2, pp. 78-79, in Berthold Laufer's review of H. Francke, 'Der Frühlingsmythus der Kessarsage,' *WZKM*, XV (1901).

N. N. Poppe, 'Geseric. Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesser Khan,' *AM*, III (1926), pp. 1-32; 167-193.

N. N. Poppe, 'O nekotorykh novykh glavakh 'Geser Khana',' *Vostochnye Zapiski*, I (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 190-200.

S. A. Kozin, 'Geseriada. Skazanie o milostivom Geser Mergen khane iskorenitele desyati zol v desyati stranakh sveta,' *Trudy instituta antropologii, etnografii i arkheologii*, VIII, No. 3 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), pp. 245.

S. A. Kozin, 'Obshchaya kharakteristika svoda mongol'skogo eposa o Gesere,' *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk SSSR*, V (1946), pp. 173-178.

S. A. Kozin, *Epos mongol'skogo naroda* (1948).

Louis Ligeti, 'Un episode d' origine chinoise du 'Geser-Qan',' *Acta orientalia*, I (Budapest, 1950-1951), pp. 339-357.

Pavel Poucha, 'Mongolská návštěva v Československu,' *Nový Orient*, IX, No. 3 (Prague, March 14, 1954), pp. 44-46.

Dm. Moldavskii, 'Eshche raz ob epose Geser,' *Zvezda*, No. 7 (July, 1954), pp. 126-127.

Damdinsuren, 'Istoricheskie korni Geseriady. Rukopis',' *Inst. Vostokovedeniya AN SSSR*, pp. 230.

(H) Stories from India:

A. N. Veselovskii, 'Skazaniya o Vikramaditya,' *Sobranie sochinenii*, VIII, No. 1, pp. 18-72.

Vladimirtsov, 'Mongol'skii sbornik razkazov iz Pañcatantra,' *Trudy muzeya antropologii i etnografii Ross. Akad. Nauk*, V (Petersburg, 1921), pp. 401-552.

Enekeg-ün Yaġar-un Bikarmijid qaġan-u tuġuġi orosibai (skazanie o Bikarmidzhid-Vikramaditya, izvestnoe i pod drugim zaglaviem, Maqasamadi qaġan-u tuġuġi, izd. Mongol'skii Uchkom, Urga, 1923).

Bikarmijid qaġan namtari Arġi Borġi qaġan-dur modun kümün-ü ügülegsen üligerud (Ulan Bator, 1929).

(I) The Two Horses of Činggis Khan:

Činggis-un qoyar ere ġaġal-un tuġuġi orosibai (Bylina, pervoe izdanie: izd. Min. Inostr. Del. (ġadayaġadu-yin yamun), Urga; vtoroe izdanie: izd. Mongol'skii Uchkom, Urga, 1922).

Russian translation of poem published by Sodnom Baldan and L. S. Puchkovskii in *Sovremennaya Mongoliya* (Ulan Bator, 1935).

(The content of the poem is summarized, and its significance analyzed, by N. N. Poppe, 'Khalkha-mongol'skiĭ geroicheskiĭ epos,' pp. 15-16.)

Thus a very extensive and important literature - far from completely listed above - treats of Mongolian folklore and epics; most of this literature is in Russian, and deals with the Kalmyks, Buriats, Khalkhas, and Oirat, the Mongols inhabiting areas which have traditionally been of most immediate concern to Russia. Father Mostaert has made available a solid body of Southern Mongolian material to compare with this other literature. When we add to this folklore contribution his extensive linguistic contributions, not to forget the great historical value of his work, it becomes clear that Father Mostaert is one of the world's great scholars. To this tribute to a scholar must be added tribute to a man: generous, exceptionally modest and unassuming, kind, always ready with his help and guidance. Father Mostaert is a rare person: may he be permitted to continue his work for many, many years to come.

ON THE ALTAIC INITIAL *P*-*

by

PENTTI AALTO

Helsinki

Neither the Turkic nor the Mongolian languages possess an initial *p*- in old original words. Where we find this sound, we have to do with a loan word, a newly created descriptive word or some other recent formation.

There is evidence, however, that such an initial consonant once existed but was later lost through the development $p > f > h > O$. The main lines of this phonetical law were first established by Ramstedt. He offered two kinds of evidence to prove that the Altaic languages once had a *p*-: 1) the analogy of the initial series $k : g, t : d$, which suggests also a $*p : b$; and 2) – which is in fact more convincing – the facts in Tungus, where in words evidently related to Mongolian and Turkic words beginning with a vowel we meet *h*- ~ *x*-, *f*- and *p*- in an initial position. The oldest monuments of Mongolian often show an *h*- in words of this category as a last remnant of the original $*p$ -. Ramstedt, however, could only offer one such instance from MNT: *huja'ur* “root, origin”.

Pelliot, who later re-opened the question, approved the general findings of Ramstedt. Of his instances Pelliot considered to be the most convincing those such as e.g.:

mo. *oro*i “top”: tung. *horon*, ma. *foron*, olča *poro* id.;

mo. *aluqa* “hammer”: ma. *folgo*, oroč. *xaluka*, go. *pālū* (cf. below p. 12);

mo. *ünür* “scent”, *ünüs*- “to scent”: ma. *funsun*, oroč. *xunke* “perfume”, olča *pünše*- “to scent”.

Pelliot again based his study for the most part on the ancient Mongolian words which in the Chinese transcription or in the Phagspa-writing show an initial *h*-. He proposed 96 such instances and subjected them to the critical examination of his great erudition. The Middle Mongolian

* This paper was read in the Altaic Section of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge in August 1954. Before publication some minor alterations and additions have been made.

literary monuments published later furnish us with more material of this kind, e.g. about 100 instances in the MNT. Though agreeing in principle with Ramstedt, Pelliot contested some of his Chinese etymologies. This poses an important and difficult problem, one which is encountered also in several Korean etymologies presented by Ramstedt and which needs further detailed investigation.¹

The newest handbooks of various Altaic languages provide us with abundant information about the initial *p*-. E.g. the introduction to the Mongolian historical phonetics by Poppe (at present in print) gives (§ 46) a detailed survey of the representation of this sound in various Mongolian dialects.² According to Poppe the original Altaic **p*- ~ **q*- was still preserved in Ancient or Common Mongolian. In Middle Mongolian, known to us through the oldest literary monuments, it had already become an *h*-. In the Monguor language, spoken in Kansu, however, we meet as a continuation of the *p*- a spirant *f*-, *x*-, *ś*- or *s*-, depending on the quality of the following sound. In San-Tchuan and Shera-Yöğur we still find an *h*-, while Moghol, Urdus, Kharcin, Chakhar, Khalkha, Buryat and Kalmuck have lost all trace of the **p*-. In the Daghur dialects the representation of the **p*- varies. The picture drawn by Poppe can here be completed with details communicated by Barnes, who distinguishes 3 dialects of Daghur:

1. Barga (influenced by Mongolian),
2. Mergen (influenced by Tungus and Manchu),
3. Butekha (nearest to the original Daghur).

The Daghurs living west of the Nonni River in the Numen Valley have thus preserved the **p*- as *h*-, and we find in their speech such forms as *hodun* "a star", *haraban* ~ *harban* "ten", *hunuy u* ~ *hunu'u* "a fox". East of the Nonni the development is more obscure, since the *h*- seems later to have become a *k*-.³ The dialect spoken in the Hailar district

¹ Following the explanations given by Zakharov in his Manchu dictionary, Ramstedt e.g. connected ma. *fujuri*, mo. MNT *hujā'ur* with chin. *fu-ju*, which Pelliot considers totally improbable. In his *Studies in Korean Etymology* (p. 200) Ramstedt presents as starting point for the ma. and mo. forms a Sino-Korean word *pī-čō* "ancestor". This hypothesis presumes, in my opinion, that the loan must be of very old date since the Altaic forms show the suffix **-wur(i)*. It is to be noted further that Mongolian has two forms of the word, i.e. MNT *hujā'ur*, kalm. *jozūr*, šir. *ojör* (which conform with ma. *fujuri*) and mo. *ifagur*, kalm. *idzör*. This difference is not explained through the etymologies suggested.

² Sandžeev deals (p. 29) with this question very briefly.

³ According to Barnes, further north on the Nonni the initial *x*- (< *q*-) too begins to disappear; *xar* (< *qara*) is pronounced *ar*~*a'*. He therefore suggests that the name of the River *Amur* perhaps derives from some such dialect, where mo. *Qara müren*, Daghur *Xarmur* was pronounced *Amur*.

has lost the *h*-. – The situation in Mongolian may be illustrated by the noun for “year”, CM **pon* ~ **qon* (= ma. *fon* “time”, kor. *pom* “spring”): MM (MNT etc.) *hon*, Monguor *fän*, San-Tchuan *huan*, Daghur (Ivanovskij) *xuan* ~ *xon*, Dagh. Butekha (Barnes) *hon*, Dagh. Hailar (Poppe) *öŋ*, Moghol Urduš Kalmuck *on*, Khalkha Buryat *oŋ*.

The position in the Turkic languages is examined by Räsänen (pp. 21 and 167 ff.).⁴ Here we find no *p*- nor *f*-, but in certain words some dialects show an *h*-, which seems to be relic of the original **p*-, e.g. osm. *čag*. E Turk. *hür*- “to blow”, trkm. *üjr*-, čuv. *vir*-, yak. *ür*-. tung. go. *puri*- id.; E Turk. *hördäk* “a duck”, mo. MNT *hörene* “west”, mo. *örene* ~ *örüne* id.; tung. ol. *puri*- “to dive”, kor. *pul-li*- id.

We possess information about the Turkic languages of far earlier date than about Mongolian or Tungus. The Chinese sources write some Hunnic words with an initial *p*-, but this can transliterate an original *b*- as well.⁵ The Byzantine sources examined by Sophocles, Triandaphyllidis, and Moravcsik⁶ quote only the Khazar titles (πέκης) πέχ and (μπέης) πέχ, which obviously render the known title *Beg* (cf. below). In any case, there seems to have been no trace left of the initial **p*- in the oldest Turkic and Ugurian monuments.⁷

The situation in Tungus is treated by Tsintsius (pp. 148 ff.), who gives us statistics of the words with an initial *p*- found in various Tungus dictionaries. A great number of them are obvious loan words or descriptive-onomatopoeic formations. In the modern vocabulary Russian loans of course play a great rôle. In the dictionary of Vasilevits, for instance, we meet 90 words with a *p*-, of which 40 are of Russian origin; in the Lamut dictionary in manuscript by Bogoraz 40 of the 48 instances are Russian loans. Shirokogoroff, whose dictionary has not been used by Tsintsius, quotes (p. 216 ff.) 114 instances of the *p*-, of which 16 are marked as

⁴ Some instances might also be considered Middle Mongolian loan words, as Mr Clauson suggested in the discussion following the lecture. So the above *hördäk* would be a Mongolian Nomen usus of the verb **hör*- “to dive”: **hör-däg* “one who usually dives”.

⁵ In my opinion the Wei title (about 350 A.D.) *fu-tuh-chen* (< **fö-ter-čhi*) “a post official” (Shiratori, p. 33, Pelliot, p. 255 fn., Kotwicz, *RO*, XVI, p. 336 ff.), because of its young age, cannot belong to any (Proto-) Turkic language but to a (Proto-) Mongolian language, cf. mo. kalm. *örtetsi*.

⁶ Cf. R. Hartmann, *Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen und Wörter in den byzantinischen Quellen*, ADAW, Nr. 6, Berlin 1952).

⁷ If the name of the Huns is derived from their own language, it seems to have begun with an *h*-. Chinese *Hung-nu*, Sanskrit *Hüna*, Greek *Χουνί* (Οὐαρχωνίται) ~ Οὐννοι ~ Οὐννοί, Latin *Hunni*. On the other side, there are in Tungus dialects (already in Jurchen) words with an initial *h*-, which is not to be traced back to a **p*-. Perhaps the common Altaic did possess an initial *h*- too?

Russian loans and 16 as Chinese. Some of the Chinese loans may be very old; in later loan words *b-* and *f-* also have been replaced by a *p-*. The representation of the original **p-* in modern Tungus dialects can be illustrated by the word "hammer" mentioned above: Solon *alxa*, Negidal *xalka*, Ewenki *halka*, Lamut *halka*, Oročon *xaluka*, Udehe *xaluga*, Manchu *folxo*, Orok *paloa*, Goldi *paloa*ⁿ, Olča *paloa*ⁿ ~ *palau*ⁿ (Tsintsius, p. 156 f.). This word is, according to Poppe and Menges, a very old loan from Accadian. In a highly instructive way Poppe has shown how the various Altaic forms mo. tung. **paluqa*, mo. turk. *balta* and čuv. *purδe* have through different channels been borrowed from the Accadian *pilaqu* and *paltu*.⁸ In general I would consider all the words where a *b-* seems to represent an original **p-* as loans which have been taken either after the law *p->f->h->O* had ceased to apply or through languages where the development *p->b-* was regular. These two rules, supposed by Pelliot and Sinor to have been simultaneous, originally belonged, as Ramstedt had thought, to different periods and/or to different languages (cf. Pelliot, p. 253 f. and 262). We know several loan words of Chinese origin which also attest the development *p->b-*, e.g. turk. *beg*: sk. *paik*; mo. *bagsi*, turk. *baqsy*, ma. *faksi*, ž. *fâh-ših*: sk. *paksa*, etc.

The genealogical affinity of the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus languages has often been doubted. Benzing (p. 2) quotes Willi Bang-Kaup, and the citation may represent his own opinion too: "Die Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Türkischen und Mongolischen ist einfach ein Axiom, bewiesen ist sie noch nicht." He quotes a similar opinion by Shirokogoroff: "Aus den obigen Tatsachen und Schlüssen ist offensichtlich, dass das Prinzip des Wechsels *f-p-h-O* nichts zu tun hat mit dem Problem des gemeinsamen Ursprungs der türkisch-mongolisch-tungusischen Sprachen. Das Problem bleibt noch die Beweise für gemeinsame Wurzeln aufzufinden." The meaning of the latter statement is not very clear: the principle of the change of the initial *p-* is of course not an isolated and independent phenomenon. On the contrary, it does show just that affinity of certain words, and this in a very convincing way. The affinity is in some cases obviously based on a common loan (e.g. in

⁸ In the discussion following the lecture Mr. Sinor categorically stated that there does not exist any word *pilaqu* in the Accadian language. In view of the numerous occurrences of *pilaqu*, Pl. *pilaqqâte* in Accadian texts and dictionaries, this statement, however, seems to be of doubtful value; see e.g. Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1896), p. 529; W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Berlin 1905), II, p. 810; A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, II, 1 (Roma 1927), p. 30, III, 1 (Roma 1934), p. 24, III, 2 (Roma 1937), p. 349; Zimmern, p. 12; cf. also the picture and inscription of a votive *pilaqu* in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. 14, p. 91.

the word for "hammer" quoted above), but in others no doubt on an affinity between the languages themselves.

The question becomes more complicated when we examine Ramstedt's Korean hypothesis from this point of view. In Korean we meet no initial *b*-, which in most cases seems to be represented by a *p*-, in some others by an *m*-. On the other side Altaic languages show a *b*- also in cases where the *m*- is original as is proved by such loan words as e.g. mo. turk. *bal* "honey", kor. *mil* id. < Indo-European **mel*, and ma. *bexe*, mo. *beke*, mt. *mäkkäh* < sk. *mek* "China-ink". Korean, moreover, has developed an aspirated *ph*-, which also can represent an original *p*-. The dropping of a short vowel from an open first syllable has caused an assimilation of the initial consonant as a laryngeal closure with the consonant of the second syllable and has thus resulted in a geminate consonant. The former component of the geminata was earlier often written with the sign *s*; in the new orthography the sign of the second consonant is doubled. Older sources also use etymological writing and from such instances we can conclude the quality of the original initial consonant.⁹

From the words with an initial *p*- we can make e.g. etymological combinations of the following types:

kor. *pai* "a boat", *pai* "a cup": tung. *ha-magda* "material for boats", MM *hai-ŋuga* "a boat", uig. mo. *ajaq* ~ *ajaya* "a cup" (< **pajaya*), hung. *hajō* "a ship" (Räsänen, *UJ*, 19, p. 103);

kor. *pal* "a tooth", *nippal* "the teeth": go. *paru*, *palu*, olča *pali*, *palu*, mo. *araga*, *ariga*, turk. *azau* (< **azay*), čuv. *urle* id.;

kor. *pegim* "secundus": turk. *eki* ~ *iki* "two", mo. *ikire* "twins", turk. *ekiz* ~ *ikiz* id.;

kor. *pil*- "to pray": ma. *firu*- id., tung. *hiruri* "a shaman", *hiruge*- "to pray", MM *hiru'e*-, mo. *irüge*- "to pray";

kor. *pulgin* "red": ma. *fulgijan*, ž. *fûh-lâh-kiâr* and *huoh-lah-hû*, MM *hula'an*, mo. *ulagan*, kalm. *ulân*, Mturk. *ulas*, tung. *xolajin*, *xulajin*, *holajin*, *xuliñña*, *ulama*, *ularin* (Shirokogoroff, p. 38);

kor. *phul* "grass": tung. *huli* "fresh", mo. *ölü* ~ *öle* id., turk. *öl* "fresh", *ölân* "fresh grass", čuv. *valēm* "a meadow";

kor. *phul*- "to scratch": ma. *furu*-, mo. *ürü*-, turk. *üz*- id.;

⁹ Some geminata cases, however, have arisen in sandhi or through metathesis (Ramstedt, *KGr.*, § 9-10). Another explanation of certain Korean words with an initial consonant cluster has recently been given by Seung-bog Cho (in *Scandinavica et Fenno-Ugrica, Studier tillägnade Björn Collinder den 22 Juli 1954*, Stockholm 1954, p. 171 ff.), who considers them original compounds.

kor. *kkiltha* "to cook, to boil": go. *peku* "hot", ma. *fekčuxun*, tung. *heku* id., mo. *ekü-gün* "biting, bitter", MM *he'ü-sje-* "to suffer from heat";

kor. *ssi* "writing": ma. *fusixen* "writing table", mo. *üsüg* "a letter";

Etymological combinations of this kind very often show an obvious regularity and thus support the hypothesis of the affinity of the languages. Consequently the same type of words has been used by some scholars in comparing the Altaic group of languages with other language groups. Sinor presents several words with an initial *p-* as related in the Altaic, the Uralian, and the Indo-European families of languages, e.g. votyak *pyd* "foot", süry. *pod*: ie. **ped* ~ **pod*, gr. *ποδ-*, lat. *ped-*, skr. *pāda*: turk. *adaq* ~ *ajaq* "foot", mo. *adag* "Flussmündung", ma. *fatxa* "the sole of the foot", to which we can add kor. *padak* "the sole, the bottom". Ma *fatan* "the sole, the bottom", connected with these by Ramstedt and Poppe, could also be more closely related to kor. *ttan*. The Uralian forms here are obvious loans from some Indo-European languages. Ramstedt has compared e.g. kor. *pul* "fire", mo. *ör* "flame" with ie. gr. *πῦρ*, OHG *fiur*, *fūr*, arm. *hur* id., etc.

Menges connected the Kitan noun *wa-li* "an administrative unity" with mo. *ajil* "camp", turk. *aγyl* "hamlet", assuming a lost initial **p-* and a metathesis of the intervocalic consonants. The word might thus be identified with ma. *falga*, hung. *falu* and the Uralian relatives of the latter. The Hungarian etymological dictionary of Gombocz-Melich quotes under *falu* also turk. *balyq*, mo. *balgasun*. I feel that these can be related only if they were late loans from (ma.) **falga*, with *b-* as a substitute for *f-*, as already suggested by Ramstedt. We have, however, in Middle Mongolian (MNT § 64) a word *halḥa* (according to the transliteration of Haenisch, who connects it with the word for "shield"), which must have the meaning "hamlet, camp", and could in my opinion be read **halḥa* (i.e. **halga*) thus corresponding completely to ma. *falga*. Perhaps we must assume that there were two different words originally, **pagyl* and **palga*?

A phonetical law similar to the development of the initial *p-* in the Altaic languages is known in many other languages. Among the Indo-European languages the German group has developed an *f-* from it, Armenian an *h-*; in Celtic the *p-* had totally disappeared before historical time (i.e. in ancient British, while ancient Irish had partially preserved the *p-* as *h-*); other languages have preserved it unchanged. This law may be illustrated among others by the following instances:

gr. *πατήρ*, lat. *pater*, skr. *pitar-*, goth. *fadar*, arm. *hayr*, OIr. *athir*;

skr. *plavate* "he swims", gr. *πλέω* "I swim", arm. *lulim* "I swim", Oir. *luath* "quick", ON *fljótr* id., OHG *flouwen* "to wash", gr. *πλύνω* "I wash", arm. *luanam* id.;

skr. *para-s* "jenseitig", gr. *πέραν* "jenseits", goth. *faírra* "far off", arm. *heri* id., OIr. *hire* "ulterior".

In the South Semitic languages (i.e. in Arabic and Abessinian) the *p* has always become an *f* (Brockelmann, *Vgl. Grammatik*, I, p. 136).

The old Iberian language knew no initial *p*- or *f*-, and probably this substratum has caused the development of the initial *f*- to *h*- in Spanish and Gascon. A similar development is known in Etruscan, in Lydian as well as in some Latin dialects. Ramstedt quotes similar trends also from Japanese and Yenisey-Ostyak. In Hungarian we find an *f*- corresponding to the *p*- of the other Uralian languages.

Ipsen has treated this phonetical feature in the Western languages from Iberian and Celtic to Armenian. Based on this parallelism he proposes a hypothesis of a uniform ethnic substratum: "Wir haben an einen gemeinsamen Grundstock der Bevölkerung zu denken, dessen Artikulationsbasis ähnlich war." As shown by the facts presented above, we meet this phonetical law also in distant regions, and can no longer explain it through the supposition of a common substratum. It seems rather to be due to a general phonetical tendency in the human speech, perhaps some kind of "laziness in articulation".¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. H. Pedersen, 'Weshalb ist p- ein instabiler Laut?' *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, II, Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg 1951, pp. 32-35, not available to me.

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QAN-QA_YAN AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MONGOL KINGSHIP

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The appearance of a number of editions and translations of the *Secret History of the Mongols* by Haenisch,¹ Pelliot,² Shiratori,³ and Kozin,⁴ during the past decade, enables us to examine at closer range the process of development of the Mongol empire. Inherent in this process is the development of the concept and functions of the ruler. The Mongols grew in power with enormous rapidity, within the scope of a few men's lifetimes. They started from the chaotic beginnings of nomad life, their later political institutions present only in foetal form. During the course of the 11th and 12th centuries they came into contact with other nomadic or recently nomadic peoples such as the Ju-chên and the Ch'i-tan, who had conquered China, the Turkic peoples who then occupied Outer Mongolia, and minor related groups, such as the Naiman and the Kereit with whom they fought and allied. They gradually built up a vast political being, a state, an emperor, a retinue, advisors, ministers, judges and priests, a tax and census system, an imperial court, a garde-de-corps, an army, an empire. Many of these particulars originated in the Chinese sphere, others were part of the life on China's northern marches, in the nomadic steppe; still others went from China through the nomadic margin to the Mongols as they evolved into a functioning entity along that margin.

The Mongols evolved from a body of herders endowed for the purposes of unity only with a consciousness of ethnic identity, to a political system with a complex internal structure, and finally to a vast state and empire, at an accelerating tempo. A measure of the growth of the Mongol political

¹ Erich Haenisch, *Manghol-un Niuca Tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi), Leipzig 1935; *Wörterbuch zu Manghol-un Niuca Tobca'an*, Leipzig 1939; *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1948.

² Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Secrète des Mongols*, Paris 1949.

³ Shiratori Kurakichi, *Onyaku-Môbun-genchô-hishi*, Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1942.

⁴ S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe Skazanie Mongolov*, vol. 1, Leningrad 1941.

being may be found in the development of the functions of the ruler, and in the choice and use of his title. For the latter, the care with which the *Secret History* reports the forms of the titles, the modes and styles of address, the formulae of enthronement, together with changes in titularization, is of unique significance.

It is important to know whether the Mongols gave their rulers the same titles and endowed them with the same forms of address as they did the rulers of the other nomadic peoples on the one hand, and the emperor of China on the other. We will thus infer whether the Mongols in the *Secret History* place their ruler on the same plane with other rulers, if not, on what plane, and in relation to what other rulers. The *Secret History* was composed in the middle of the 13th century, possibly twenty or even forty years after the death of Chingis Khan, and before the founding of the Yüan dynasty.⁵ According to Haenisch, its author was possibly Shigiquutuqu, who was the compiler of the Mongol *yasak* or codex, and who had been one of Chingis's ministers.⁶ The author was undoubtedly a man of letters, and had participated in great events. He has thus much to tell us about the ideological position of Chingis vis-à-vis his peers and his forebears and successors.

The time lapse between the death of Chingis Khan and the composition of the *History* raises the problem of a possible "rectification of names".

The precise signification of titles, relationships among these significations, formulae of enthronement, and honorifics, may possibly permit the recognition of difference in rank among the Mongol rulers synchronically and diachronically.

We may distinguish three sub-periods within this stage of Mongol history. The first begins with Qabul *qahan*, the great-grandfather of Chingis Khan, who was the first to have the governance of all the Mongols. To govern them all means to have unified them. Two processes were unfolding at the same time: one, the establishment of the political unity through force of a unifying ruler; and two, the establishment by the Mongols of their political identity through their recognition of themselves as a state, through the force of their political self-consciousness. Thus a ruler had a double function in regard to unification; one, in the act of unification, and two, in the ideology built upon the recognition of that unity, of which he was the protagonist.

⁵ William Hung, 'The Transmission of the . . . Secret History of the Mongols,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1951, XIV, p. 488. In this perceptive article Professor Hung proposes 1264 as the year of completion of the *Secret History*.

⁶ Haenisch, *Geheime Geschichte*, p. i.

The first period, then, extends from Qabul through the young manhood of Chingis Khan, his great-grandson. In the first period, the Mongol self-recognition manifested itself in a distinction in title between the Mongol ruler and the emperor of China, and an identification in title with the rulers of the other nomadic peoples. The emperor of China was called *qa'yan*, as had been the old T'o-pa emperors and the Uigur, both Altaic peoples. Qabul and his sons, Ambayai and Qutula, were called *qan*, as we shall have occasion to show. If Qabul and Ambayai were also called with the bisyllabic title *qahan* in the *Secret History*, this was a posthumously endowed honor which was made accessible by the glory of his line. There is a second possibility. Qabul, Qutula, and Ambayai had the title of *qan*, for that is how Chingis Khan refers to at least one of them, Qutula, and all of them had the same rank. On the other hand, the form *qahan* may have been merely an honorific, that is, an element added to the name, which is honorable in a general way. We cannot decide this question in the absence of the formula of enthronement or contemporary diplomatic correspondence. The title *qan*, the significance of which is made very clear by the *Secret History*, refers to the nomadic rulers, specifically, rulers of more important peoples, the Mongols, the Naimans, the Kereits, and possibly the Qarlu'ud.

Several conclusions follow from the foregoing. One, *qa'yan* was higher than *qan*, just as the Chinese empire was more grandiose a political phenomenon than any nomadic people. Two, the ruler, of the Mongols was on an equal plane with his neighboring nomadic princes. Three, China was the leading cultural, political, social force in the entire cultural world of which the Mongols were a part; the political control of the entirety of this world with China at the core did not necessarily bring cultural dominance within it.

The second period is different in kind from the first. The ruler of the Mongols, Chingis Khan, became the ruler, not only of his own people, but of many others. This period covers the last three decades of his life, from about 1200 to his death in 1227. At his enthronement he was titled *qan*, he called himself *qan*, later his queen called him *qan*. His subjects called him *qa'yan*, and referred to him in the third person as "his Majesty", as opposed to the formula of enthronement ceremony, where he was addressed in the second person.⁷

⁷ Certain rhetorical devices common to European linguistic culture have not been fully worked out in Orientology. For example, in "Peter the Great", "the Great" is in apposition to "Peter". However, the apposition is not an independent element, and is not applied alone to Peter, above all, not in address. *Qa'yan*, on the other hand, is at

In the third period, after the death of Chingis, and beginning with the reign of Ögödei, two titles were in use. Ögödei was titled *qan* at his enthronement. But at the very end of the *Secret History* he was called Universal *qaγan*, and in later writings of the Yüan dynasty he was referred to as the *qaγan*. All the successors to Chingis in the Mongol dynasty used this title exclusively.

The concept of duration in a house, the dynasty, was something new. The device used to signify the dynasty was a plural of the form *qan*: *qad*. The imperial throne was the *qan*'s seat: *qan oron*. An individual emperor was a *qaγan*, and he referred to himself as such: *qaγan jarliq manu*, "our imperial decree".

The evidence that the *Secret History* offers us in tracing the development of the institution of kingship will be analyzed in the following pages. Vladimircov,⁸ who has gone over the same ground with the use of other sources, principally Rashid ed-Din, has adopted an entirely different point of view. He started from the premise that the Mongols during the era of Chingis Khan were evolving from one great historical stage, the tribal, into another great historical stage, the feudal. One may question whether these two formations in the evolution of society are at all applicable to the Mongols in the era of the 11th-13th centuries. That is, the Mongols were not essentially a tribal society before Chingis, certainly not immediately prior to his rule. They did not become feudal during and after his life time. It may be shown, although not in this paper, that they were not in the process of developing from one great evolutionary stage to another in this era. This follows from another premise, that they were not an independent cultural unity, but part of a larger whole. The historical forces at work in their development as a people and as an empire are not inherent in the Mongols alone; these forces emerge from the relations between them and their neighbors, Chinese, Turkic, Manchu-Tungusic. The Mongols evolved politically as they were embraced in the orbit of the Sinitic cultural world.

The Mongols as such moved definitively into the Sinitic culture world

once a title, "emperor", an honorific in Chingis *qaγan* and a mode of address, "his Majesty" – used by the Mongols in the third person. One bearing the title *qan* may bear an honorific *qaγan*, or *qaγan* may function as both title and honorific. "God the Lord" may be a closer parallel, where "Lord" is a separable and independent element, functioning simultaneously as a mode of address, albeit in the second person in Biblical usage. We will return to this point.

⁸ B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Obščestvennyj Stroj Mongolov, Kočevoj Feodalizm*, Leningrad 1934; French translation, M. Carsow, *Le Régime Social des Mongols, Féodalisme Nomade*, Paris 1948.

in the era of the 11th-13th centuries. They moved into an area which had for long been economically related to the Chinese; and they began to apply to themselves cultural and political conceptions rooted in this sphere as they entered at this period into political and military relations within it. Thus there is a development observable in the Mongols in this era, but it is not one of great evolutionary movement. Rather, the development is along the lines of specific institutions and cultural features. And one of the primary of these institutions developed at this time was kingship. To one aspect of the development of the institutions of kingship the following pages are devoted.

I. ETYMOLOGY

There are a number of conflicting views on the origin of the term itself. Ramstedt⁹ has equated Korean *kwan*, *kap-kwan*, with Avar *capcanus*, old Bulgar *καυκάνος, καπχανος qabqanas*, and probably with Orkhon *qayan*. Ramstedt further alludes to the existence in Old Turkic and Mongol of two forms, *qayan/qa'an* and the simpler *qan*, related to Sino-Korean *kwan*, Governor. According to him, whatever difference there had been between the two seems mostly to have been lost.¹⁰

Another school, represented by Altheim and Szemerényi, claims an Iranian origin for the terms, developing a view originally advanced by Schaeder.¹¹ According to Altheim and Szemerényi, there is a Middle Iranian (Northwest dialect-Parthian) **kav kavān* which was contracted to **kavkān* or *qawyan*. The fact that both *kav kavān* and *kavkān* are reconstructed and nowhere attested weaken this view, and it has come under severe attack by Sinor.¹²

Sinor in a recent article rejects an Iranian derivation for the title, and holds it to be an Altaic form. The title *qapqan* is an intensification of *qan*, just as *qap-qara* is an intensification of *qara* black. The form *qapqan* is distinguished by Sinor from another title, *qapyan*, which he etymologizes as a verbal adjective of *qap-* to attack.

Sinor's explanation has the advantage of being both internally consistent with principles of Altaic grammar and simple, that is, not going to

⁹ G. J. Ramstedt, *Studies in Korean Etymology*, *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, no. 95, Helsinki 1949, p. 95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹¹ F. Altheim, 'Das Auftreten der Hunnen', *Acta Archaeologica Acad. sc. Hungar.*, II, 1952, p. 270. O. Szemerényi, 'Südwestiranische Lehnwörter im Ungarischen und Türkischen', in: Altheim, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Sprache*, 1951, pp. 66-84.

¹² D. Sinor, 'Qapqan', *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1954, parts 3-4, pp. 174 et sqq., esp. pp. 181-183.

the field of Iranistics when an explanation can be made within the Altaic domain itself. One question remains, however, i.e., the phonological relationship between *qan* and *qayan*. Are the two terms one, or is *qayan* derived from another root, *qap-* (*qapyan*)? If the latter, how is the hyphaeresis regarding *-p-* accounted for?

In the same article, Sinor cites a passage from the *Annales Einhardi* which is most relevant to the thesis of the present article. Sinor writes:¹³ "It is clear that after Theodore's death the *caganus*, who thus was certainly not the supreme chief of the Avars, wished to ask for a higher title [of the Byzantine emperor]; and I surmise that the second '*caganus*' stands for '*capcanus*'. The context clearly asks for this emendation, but even without it the passage shows that the dignity of a *qapqan* was thought to be superior to that of a *qayan*."

Thus at the other end of the steppe world, on the margins of the Byzantine empire, a set of relationships closely parallel to the Mongol were established, in which an Altaic steppe people moved in the orbit of a greater politico-cultural sphere. The Avars did not consider themselves an independent unity, but were subordinate to Byzantium. This is true of certain eras in Mongol history vis-à-vis the Chinese. The Avars possessed a set of titles of varying rank, which they applied to their ruler. The choice of title depended on the actual power of the Avar ruler at the time, and ultimately, his relations to Byzantium. Finally, the terms themselves are etymologically related to those found among the Mongols centuries later.

II. THE SECRET HISTORY

It is unfortunate that the death of Paul Pelliot prevented the publication of the notes to his *Histoire Secrète des Mongols*; only his reconstruction of the text and a translation of half of the "chapters" have appeared posthumously. In an earlier article reviewing Barthold's *Turkestan*¹⁴ Pelliot had written on the problem of Chingis Khan's title: "I doubt whether Chingis Khan ever bore the title of *qayan* and shall explain this in regard to the *Secret History* of the Mongols; his true title seems to me to have been Cinggis-xan or Cingiz-xan."¹⁵

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁴ W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed., London 1928.

¹⁵ Pelliot, 'Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold', *T'oung Pao*, XXVII, 1930, p. 25. Pelliot had criticized Barthold's use of the bisyllabic title for Chingis Khan, and had proposed the solution cited above. Barthold had written in his *Turkestan*, p. 382: "After the victory over the Tatars, when the Khān of the Keraits had made himself the

Several comments are necessary. The form *khān*, monosyllabic and with long quantity, is not to be confused with the much later, Spoken Mongol *xān*, which derives, through the loss of the intervocalic voiced spirant, from an originally bisyllabic word *qaγan* in Script Mongol, with two non-long vowels. The form Barthold uses is a Persian transcription of the Mongol term and will be referred to again in this paper in regard to an erroneous usage by Vladimircov. According to the evidence of the *Secret History*, the form *qaγan* did not disappear from use after the death of Qabul *qaγan* but is specifically conferred upon Ambaγai, who was selected by Qabul to succeed him and rule over all the Mongols (para. 52). Moreover, the assertion that Chingis's claim to descent from Qutula was "in all probability unfounded" seems to me gratuitous. Finally, according to the evidence of the *Secret History*, the Kereit Wang (Ong) Khan had nothing to do with the raising of Temüjin-Chingis to Khan.

Pelliot had in mind the scenes depicted in paragraphs 123–126 of the *Secret History*, and again in paragraph 202. In the first of them, Temüjin is called *Činggis qahan* and is entitled *qan*,¹⁶ but only before a few of his immediate followers. In the second he is addressed as *Cinggis qahan* and entitled *qan* before the entire Mongol people. The first of these events took place shortly before 1200¹⁷ although no calendar notation exists before the Hen year *takiya jil* (1201) (para. 141). The second event we know definitely to have taken place in the Tiger year *bars jil* (1206) (para. 202). In para. 123 Altan, Qučar, and Sača Beki say to Temüjin, *čima-yi qan bolqaya Temüjin-i qan bolu'asu* "We will make you the *qan*. When Temüjin will be the *qan*..." And again, *Temüjin-i Činggis qahan ke'en nereyitčü qan bolqaba ...* they made Temüjin the *qan*, calling him Chingis *qahan*." This formula is repeated in the succeeding three paragraphs dealing with his accession to the new honor: para. 124, *Činggis*

chief personage in Eastern Mongolia, this troop proclaimed its leader kagan; with the consent of the Kerait, Wang Khān, Tamuchin accepted this title, and revived the family name of Mongol, which had disappeared in Mongolia proper after Qutula Qaghan. By adopting the term Mongols for his tribe Tamuchin declared himself the successor of Qutula Qaghan, and also asserted a claim, in all probability unfounded, to relationship with him."

¹⁶ Professor N. Poppe in a personal communication has noted that *qahan* here is part of his new name. As such it would not be an apposition such as "Ivan the Terrible" or "Philip the Fair". It would rather be an honorific such as "Lord God of Hosts", where both "Lord" and "God of Hosts" are independent forms of address, unlike "the Terrible", "the Fair", etc. In this paper, such an honorific will be distinguished from a title as such.

¹⁷ *Sanang Sečen* (I. J. Schmidt ed. and tr., St. Petersburg 1829), pp. 70/71, gives 1189. Why this date is rejected will be the subject of separate treatment.

qahan qan bolu'at "Chingis *qahan* becoming the *qan*"; para. 125, *tende Činggis qahan qan bolju* "Thereupon Chingis *qahan* having become the *qan*"; para. 126, *Činggis qahan-i qan bolqaba* "They made Chingis *qahan* the *qan*".¹⁸ Note the use of the second person in the quotation from para. 123. This is opposed to the future modes of address to Chingis Khan which are in the third person.

The *Secret History* was set down in the Mouse year *quluqana jil* (tentatively 1264), that is, thirty-seven years after the death of Chingis Khan. Thus Pelliot could only have meant in his comment on Barthold's usage that the bisyllabic form *qa'an/qahan* came to be applied to the ruler only after his death, while during his lifetime he had only the title *qan*. Only when titles, styles of address, and honorifics are distinguished does Pelliot's note make sense. As we have seen from the forms of address at the enthronement ceremonies, in both instances his followers told him that they would make him *qan*, and he was named Chingis *qayan*. He was also addressed as *qayan*, as we shall see in a moment.¹⁹ The style of address and the separable, generalized element in the name coincide in the form *qayan*.

Aside from the passages containing the ceremonies and formulae of enthronement, entitlement, Chingis Khan does not bear the monosyllabic title. Nevertheless, it is clear that he regarded himself, and was regarded by his followers, as a *qan*; so much we can infer from these formulae.

Where he is addressed without name, he is addressed with the bisyllabic form (e.g., para. 140 and 145). In para. 140, Büri bökö and Belgütei were

¹⁸ Why Pelliot made this sentence into the message which he sent by Daqai and Sügegei to To'oril *qan* of the Kereit is not clear. The text reads, *Činggis qahan-i qan bolqaba keyen kereyid-ün To'oril qan-tur Daqai Sügegei qoyar-i elči ilebe* "He sent as envoys both Daqai and Sügegei to To'oril *qan* of the Kereit saying, 'They made Chingis *qahan* the *qan*'." Pelliot's "pour lui dire" does not belong in a literal translation. Haenisch eschews the direct address in his translation.

¹⁹ The Mongol language in the 13th century maintained a phonemic opposition between voiced and unvoiced velar plosives and spirants in intervocalic position; at some time in this period the intervocalic voice plosive or spirant disappeared with compensatory lengthening of the postconsonantal vowel, with the exception of the syllables: *uγa*, *üge*. For an analysis of these syllables cf. N. Poppe, 'The Groups **uγa* and **üge* in Mongol Languages', *Studia Orientalia*, XIV, 1950, pp. 1-15. This process has reached virtual completion today, e.g., *xān* (Khalkha, Kalmuk), *xāa* (Ordos) <*qayan* (Script Mongol) "khan"; (Script Mongol) *naγur* > *nūr* (Khalkha, Kalmuk, Ordos) "lake"; (Script Mongol) *nigür* > (Ordos, Kalmuk, Khalkha) *nür* "face". During the process of transition, the reduction of the plosive gave rise to an allophonic aspirate, back spirant and glottal. This accounts for the alternation *qahan/qa'an/qayan*. Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urga Mundart phonetisch verglichen*, Helsingfors 1902, p. 21; for the rule and its exceptions noted above, cf. N. N. Poppe, 'Die Sprache der Mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi', *Asia Major*, 1944, N.S., I, p. 100 f.

commanded by Chingis Khan to wrestle. The “*qahan* bit his lower lip” *qahan ilügey-iyen ja’uba*. Büri bökö had had his back broken in the wrestling, and in speaking to the Khan said “fearing the *qahan*” *qahan-ača ayužu*. Thus we see the bisyllabic form used in direct address, which is in the third person, in contrast to the enthronement formulae. The same manner of direct address to the Khan is encountered in a later passage (para. 145). During this scene, Jelme, who had just saved Chingis Khan’s life in battle, reported his action to the Khan with the words *qa’an-a u’ulba* “caused the *qa’an* to drink”, and his thoughts to the Khan with the words *qa’an-u hangqaqsan* “the *qa’an*’s thirsting”.

These passages indicate the use of the bisyllabic form applied to Chingis Khan in conversations purported to have taken place during his lifetime, but as a mode of address, not as a title, and to that extent, there is a corroboration of Pelliot. In the same scenes, as well as elsewhere, Chingis *qahan*, or simply the *qahan* (*qa’an*) is referred to by the author of the *Secret History*. These are instances of the honorific usage, and not the titular.

For the rest, only a few other rulers in the *Secret History* are qualified by the bisyllabic form. We may regard these as posthumous honors. Qabul *qahan*, the first to have all the Mongols under his rule, is the first to bear this honorific after his name, in para. 52.²⁰ The others who bear it are Qutula *qahan*, Qabul’s fourth son, and Ambayai, who was Qabul’s successor, whom Qabul himself had named (para. 52 and 53)²¹ despite the

²⁰ The earliest references to any social stratification in the *Secret History* is in para. 1, where Batači *qan* is mentioned; thereafter in para. 8, *ejen* “master”, and para. 9, where the *ejet* “masters” of the Uriankhai are mentioned. Later there are *ba’atur*, as Qabiči *ba’atur* (para. 43), Način *ba’atur* (para. 45), etc. This rank, “hero”, was the noble stratum to which Yesügei, Chingis’ father, belonged.

²¹ Cf. Archimandrite Palladius (Kafarov), *Starinnoe Mongol’skoe Skazanie o Čingis xane, Trudy Členov Rossijskoi Duxovnoj Missii*, 2nd ed., tom IV, Peking 1910. Palladius has subjected this passage to analysis in note 48, p. 86 to para. 52: “Ts s [Ch’ien Tashsin? If this is the man, then Palladius cited erroneously, for his book is the *Nien erh shih k’ao i* Critical Remarks on the Twenty-two Dynastic Histories, and not the *Nien erh k’ao i*, as he notes on p. 80] asserts that the Mongol khans begin at this time. Qabul was the descendant of Boduanchar [Bodončar] in direct line. Tsar, in the Mongol-Chinese text is *Khagan* or *Kekhan* (e ke-khan) [Yeke Khan = Great Khan]; the Mongol *khan* is probably taken from the Chinese *huang*: tsar.”

In defense of Ts s be it noted that Qabul *qahan* is in fact the first ruler of all the Mongols. Qabul was in fact the descendant of Bodončar mungqaq, but no significance can be attached to this, since Bodončar Mungqaq had no imperial title. He was the fifth son of Alan γo’a, one of the three sons born after the death of Dobun mergen, and hence tinged with illegitimacy, against which charge Alan γo’a defended herself so vigorously (para. 17–22). Qabul was not a tsar or emperor, he was simply, as the text says, the ruler of all the Mongols. It would be more in keeping to call him “prince” or

fact that he was not his own son. Qabul and Ambayai both had the governance of all the Mongols: *qamuq mangqol-i Qabul qahan meden aba Qabul qahan-u qoyina Qabul qahan-u üge-ber dolo'an kö'üd-iyen bö'etele Senggüm bilge-yin kö'ün Ambayai qahan qamuq mangqol-i meden aba* "Qabul qahan was the ruler of all the Mongols. After Qabul qahan, Senggüm Bilge's son, Ambayai qahan, was the ruler of all the Mongols."

Although in this paragraph there is no reason mentioned why Qutula should also have been called *qahan*, nevertheless we know from para. 179 that he did rule all the Mongols: *Qutula qan-lu meden yabu-lu'a* "Qutula qan was the ruler". For this reason, he may be placed side by side with Qabul and Ambayai, in the matter of function, and honorific.

Para. 179 indicates the difference in outlook between the author of the *Secret History* and Chingis Khan himself. The author of the *Secret History* makes Qabul, Qutula, and Ambayai all into *qayans*, posthumously honoring them in view of the subsequent glories of the Mongols. But Chingis Khan's own words, and hence his views, as reported by the author of the *Secret History*, reveal a quite different outlook. Qutula was not a *qayan*, but a *qan*. Moreover, Altan, Chingis's friend, was offered the opportunity to become *qan* by Chingis, as were Qučar, Sača, and Taiču. All refused, and Chingis Khan became the *qan*. Thus we have another unmistakable bit of evidence that Chingis Khan regarded himself, and was in turn regarded by his cohorts and followers as a *qan*, and not an emperor or *qayan*. Nevertheless Jelme, Büri bökö, and Jebe (para. 147) all address him as *qa'an/qahan*. And he bore the latter the bisyllabic form as honorific.

These are not the only ones to bear the bisyllabic form. Altan Khan, according to Haenisch, Emperor Shih-tsung of the Chin dynasty,²² also had this form attributed to him. And it is understandable that the emperor of China would have such a title, the highest that the Mongols, and other Altaic peoples, had. Variant usages in para. 150 of the *Secret History* call Ong *qan* of the Kereits Ong *qa'an*, but this is an exception, for everywhere else (e.g., para. 96, 105, 157-165, 183-189, etc.) he is called *qan*. In that same passage there is another variant. Yesügei, who during his lifetime bore the rank *ba'atur* "hero, brave", is called posthumously, as the father of Chingis Khan, Yesügei *qa'an* in para. 150. Generally in the text, however, he is posthumously called Yesügei *qan*, "ruler", hence a *qan*, since a Mongol kingdom or empire as such did not come into being until the third generation after him, under Chingis Khan and Ögödei.

²² Haenisch, *Geheime Geschichte*, p. 150, note 53. There are numerous Altans mentioned in the *Secret History*, as well as other Altan Khans of the Kin. Cf. e.g. Haenisch, *ibid.*, p. 163, note 250; also *Wörterbuch*, Namenliste, s.v. *Altan hahan*.

for the same reason. Cf. para. 96, 177, etc. *Ba'atur* was a minor noble rank.

Was Chingis Khan addressed as *qan* by other peoples than the Mongols? He probably was. He was certainly so addressed (para. 155) by Yesügen *qatun*, daughter of Yeke čeren of the Tatars.

Finally in regard to Chingis Khan's honorific, there is one line in para. 255 where the author of the *Secret History* refers to him: variantly as Chingis *qan*: *Tende-eče Činggis qan ügülerün* "Thereafter Chingis *qan* said . . .".

Following Chingis Khan, Ögödei, his son and appointed successor was also honored as *qayan* and entitled *qan*, as his father had been. The enthronement formula, as the *Secret History* explicitly shows, was identical with that whereby his father had been so honored. In the Mouse year *quluqana jil* (1228) Ögödei became ruler. *Činggis qahan i nereyi-düksen mün jarliy-iyar Ögödei qahan-i qan ergübe* "They raised Ögödei *qahan* to *qan* by that decree whereby Chingis *qahan* had given him the title". The same usages of *qahan* in conjunction with the name and *qan* in conjunction with the title of the new office applied both to Chingis Khan and Ögödei. His elder brother conducted the accession: *Ča'adai aqa Ögödei qahan-i degü-yü'en qan ergüfü* "Ča'adai the elder brother, raising his younger brother Ögödei *qahan* to *qan* . . ." (para. 269). Compare the following para. 270 where the same formula is repeated: *Ögödei qahan ör-iyen qan ergü'ülfü* "Ögödei *qahan*, causing himself to be raised to *qan*". In the cases of both Chingis Khan and Ögödei, men of noble rank themselves conducted the enthronement ceremonies; commoners had only a passive role at the ceremonies.

As we shall see in dealing with the subsequent developments of the *qan/qayan* problem during the Yüan dynasty, there was later differentiation in title.

The *qan* is a common title for nomadic leaders in the *Secret History*. Beside the already mentioned Mongol Batači *qan*, there were others as Ong *qan* of the Kereits (para. 96 To'oril Ong *qan* or To'oril *qan*, para. 104–105), Buyuruq *qan* of the Naiman (para. 142–144), Inanča *qan* of the Naiman (para. 151), Tayang *qan* of the Naiman (para. 166), Güčülük *qan* of the Naiman (para. 202), Arslan *qan* of the Qarlu'ud (para. 235). In addition, we have such a usage as in para. 149, where Tarqutai kiriltuq, *noyan* of the Taiči'ud,²³ is addressed as *qan*, evidently a raising of rank.

²³ Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *noyan* "Beamter, Würdenträger, Befehlshaber, Chef". It is evident that the last meaning is here most applicable, since the others refer to a far more complex social system than the Taiči'ud possessed. Pelliot translates the term as "seigneur".

His group was probably not as important or as highly regarded as the Naiman, Kereit, Qarlu'ud, etc., whose prestige and power warranted such a title for their leader.²⁴

We turn now to an analysis of the terms of royalty found in Vladimircov's *Régime Social*, where a completely different approach to these questions may be found. Vladimircov held, in the interests of a theory that the Mongols had a feudal type of social structure, that the form *ha'an* meant "tribal chief",²⁵ and that *qan*, *han*, *qa'an*, *qagan*, *hağan* meant "tsar, emperor".²⁶

He equates *han* with *qan*, *qa'an*, etc., opposing them all to *ha'an*, recognizing only unimportant differences among the terms equated. On the phonological side his position is untenable. No one who has worked on the Mongol language of the 13th and 14th century, neither N. Poppe,²⁷ nor E. Haenisch,²⁸ nor P. Pelliot,²⁹ recognizes a phonemic opposition between an initial voiceless velar plosive and a continuant in

²⁴ W. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Leiden 1924, s.v. *Khān*, pp. 897b f., raises an interesting problem in this respect. He writes: "Not till the Mongol period is a distinction made between the *Qaghan* or *Qān* as supreme ruler and the *Khān* as a ruler of a separate portion of the whole empire. In course of time *Qaghan* and *Khākān* were completely ousted from the popular language by *Khān*. In the last centuries before the Mongol conquest, the Turkish *Khān* like the Arabic *Malik* and the Persian *Shāh* was used as a princely title in contrast to the supreme title *Sulṭān*, *Sulṭān* only retaining the meaning in Western Asia and Egypt. In Central Asia in the various kingdoms into which the Mongol empire broke up *Khān* was the real sovereign title and *Sulṭān* the title of each individual member of the dynasty descended from Čingiz Khan." However the usage may have been in the Islamic world, and certainly the opinion of so eminent an Islamicist as Barthold must be given all credence, this situation does not apply to the Mongols themselves. The form *khān* (to use the corresponding form of Barthold's) applied to Chingis Khan or Ögödei Khan. Barthold's *Qaghan* for Islām is the same as the Mongol *qaγan* while *khān* is the Mongol *qan*. In Arabic script, *qan* and *qān* cannot be distinguished.

²⁵ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, Fr. tr., pp. 100 ff.

²⁶ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 127, 154 ff.

²⁷ N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaja Pis'mennost'*, Moscow-Leningrad 1941, Table 6, p. 32, and text passim. There is no voiceless velar spirant in this transcription system, only a voiceless velar plosive *q*, both in initial and medial positions. There is an initial aspirate *h* which in its development over later centuries became a zero phoneme corresponding to Manchu *f*, Korean *p*, etc. Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, 'Ein anlautender bilabialer Spirant', *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXXII; A. de Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le Dialecte Monguor*, Part 2, Peking 1945, and Part 3, Peking 1933, *Monumenta Serica* VI. In intervocalic position in Poppe's system there is only a glottal³, and not an aspirate or voiced velar spirant. All these are variants on the same phoneme.

²⁸ Haenisch, *Manghol-un Niuca Tobca'an*, passim; *Wörterbuch*, letters *h* and *h*. The initial voiceless velar is rendered as a spirant *h*. There is no corresponding plosive. He likewise has an initial aspirate which is not under discussion here, and an intervocalic glottal³.

the same position; no one recognizes a phonemic opposition between an intervocalic aspirate, an intervocalic voiced velar spirant, and an intervocalic glottal. There is thus only one generic form for the bisyllabic title, which I render as *qaγan*. Let us analyze the question historically.

What Vladimircov has done is to create a new form *ha'an*, different from *qa'an*, etc., in order to establish a development in the concept of kingship among the Mongols; *ha'an* was used in his view, in a prior era to the empire, when there were only tribal chiefs. He then presents a theory that feudalism arose under Chingis Khan, who became a different ruler from his predecessors. Historically this theory is without foundation. At the time of his first enthronement, shortly before the year 1200, Chingis Khan was no different from a host of other nomadic rulers. We have in the *Secret History* the celebrated passage where Chingis Khan sends a message to Ong *qan* of the Kereits addressing him as *qan ečige minu* "*qan* my father", demonstrating that he recognized no higher rank for himself than for other *qans* of that era (para. 177 ff.). He fought with these other *qans*, allied with them as a relative equal. Vladimircov himself has given up the position he had previously undertaken, that there was a difference in ideology between Chingis Khan and Jamuqa.³⁰

Thus the distinction in meaning among the bisyllabic forms of the title is unfounded on historical as well as linguistic evidence. Since the other rulers were all *qans*, and Chingis was their peer, then he was a *qan* too. Vladimircov, moreover, translates the term *ha'an* as "chief" on one page,³¹ but adopts, perhaps from the translation of Palladius, the form "tsar (emperor)" on the next.³²

His dates are unclear. Here he has apparently reference to the first enthronement of Chingis Khan. But in a long footnote³³ he asserts that Temüjin received the title *qan* as distinct from *ha'an* only in 1206. As we know, the *Secret History* leaves no doubt that he had already gotten this title and the change of name to Chingis *qaγan* already before the year 1200.

²⁹ Pelliot, *Histoire Secrète*, passim. Pelliot transcribes the relevant initial velar without voice as a plosive *q* and the intervocalic as a glottal '.

³⁰ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, p. 106; cf. also id., *Life of Chingis Khan*, London 1930, pp. 33–34. Haenisch, *Geheime Geschichte*, p. 153, note 118, has shown the basis of this error as a mistranslation. Even Vladimircov, *Régime Social*, p. 103, indicates that, on the evidence of Rashīd ed-Dīn, Chingis Khan, Ong Khan, and Jamuqa all regarded themselves as equals.

³¹ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, p. 101: "They called them [the chiefs] generally *ha'an*." Cf. note 9 *supra*.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 102: "We will proclaim you tsar (*ha'an*)."
Cf. note 9 *supra*.

³³ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, p. 103, note 2.

How may we describe the use of the kingship terms during the era of the formation of the Mongol empire, that is, through the life of Chingis Khan? The supreme emperor in the case of both the Mongols and the Turks was the *qayan*. Among the Mongols and their neighbors, as the Naiman and the Kereit, etc., the *qan* was a nomad ruler, of rank inferior to that of the *qayan*. Chingis was titled *qan* and Ögödei was titled *qan*. They referred to themselves as *qan*, to their peers, such as Ong *qan*, etc., as *qan*, and to their predecessors and ancestors as *qan*, such as Qutula *qan*. The emperor of China was a *qayan* in the Mongol conception. However, the emperor was given this form as an honorific, which we distinguish from the title. Presumably he also bore the title, but we cannot say positively for lack of evidence. The honorific *qan* was applied posthumously to Yesügei, and the honorific *qahan* (*qaγan*) was applied by the author of the *Secret History* – not by Chingis himself – to Qabul, Qutula, and Ambayai. Chingis bore the title *qan*, the honorific *qaγan*, and was addressed by his followers as *qaγan*. He was addressed by his peers or cohorts, by his queen and referred to himself as a *qan*. There may have been a systematic re-editing of the record, oral or written. Pelliot presumably thinks so and cites the Chinese historical usage of the Yüan dynasty.³⁴ I shall leave this question open for lack of positive evidence.

There is a certain degree of looseness in the text of the *Secret History*, but the broad lines of signification are clear. Pelliot I feel was correct in his assertion that Chingis did not bear the title *qaγan*. But it is equally clear that he bore this honorific, and was so addressed.³⁵

³⁴ Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, vol. 1, Paris 1923, p. 19, note 3.

³⁵ A word on Pelliot's usage. In the above cited work by Pelliot, he devotes a long note to the letter of Guyuk Khan (*loc. cit.*). He remarks in regard to the form "cingis kanet kan" found in that letter, that we are here faced with commands of two emperors, Chingis Khan and Ögödei *qaγan* (*qa'an*). We know from other evidence that Pelliot intended for Chingis the title *qan* (v. *supra* regarding *Notes sur le "Turkestan"*) in this case. But one cannot equate without further comment as this footnote implies ("... Genghis-khan, qui est à la fois khan et *qaγan* (*qa'an*) ..."), since there was a difference in rank and in function as well as rhetorical form, which Pelliot by implication has referred to. Moreover, the solution proposed in this particular case is confused by the fact that "khan" without indication of quantity can mean either the monosyllabic form or the bisyllabic. Care in this matter is imperative because in Khalkha, Kalmuk, Ordos, a long quantity in the monosyllabic form, as we know, points to an earlier bisyllabism: *qaγan* < *xān*/*xāā*. The monosyllabic form *qan* remains monosyllabic and short: *xan*.

Vladimircov persists in using the form *han*, as does Barthold, basing himself not on Mongol, but on the Persian of Rashīd ed-Dīn, etc. The Persians and Arabs used the long quantity, monosyllabic form for the Mongol monosyllabic, then current, short quantity form. A clarification by Pelliot and Vladimircov would have cleared up this otherwise confusing usage.

Francis Cleaves, in his review of Haenisch, has called attention to one additional usage in imperial titles.³⁶ Ögödei at the very end of the *Secret History* is called *dalai-yin qahan* (para. 280) “universal khan” – Pelliot’s “khan océanique” and Haenisch’s “Weltherrscher”. Ögödei in this conception moves on the very highest possible level of imperial power that the Mongols had devised.

III. THE *ḥP’AGS-PA* INSCRIPTIONS

Shortly after the composition of the *Secret History*, the Mongols established the Yüan dynasty in China (1260/1280–1368) and from the Yüan court, chancelleries, mints, etc., flowed a series of documents and coins which are designated collectively as the *ḥP’ags-pa* inscriptions. Because of the dates (13th–14th centuries) in which they appear, immediately following the era of Chingis Khan, they throw light on imperial usage in general.

N. Poppe has gathered almost all the inscriptions in this script together in his work on the square writing, and has summarized the relevant evidence:³⁷ “It is important to note that Chingis here bears the title *qan* (cf. *qanu*) at the same time that in the edict of Buyantu Khan he bears the title *qayan*. Further we find the form *qan* in the edict of 1314 (line 9) which was noted as a characteristic trait by B. Ja. Vladimircov who showed that in a series of Mongol texts of the 13th century Chingis is consistently called *qan* (*Obščestvennyj Stroj Mongolov*, p. 81 — *Régime Social des Mongols*, p. 103. Cf. also P. Pelliot, *Notes sur le “Turkestan” de M. W. Barthold*, p. 25). The title of Chingis *qan* is counterposed here to the title *qayan* ‘khagan (khan)’.

“Regarding this khagan, in the opinion of Chavannes, Ugedei was meant. The opinion of Chavannes is justified by the fact that the chronologically closest ukase after Chingis Khan, in agreement with the ukase of Buyantu Khan was precisely the ukase of Ugedei (cp. the reference there to the following ukase: *ḥingis qayanu öködeë qa’anu seč’en qa’anu k’ülüg qa’anu ba ḥarlıqdur*). Obviously the privileges of the clergy were given by the ukases of Chingis Khan, Ugedei, Khubilai, Uljeitu, and Kuluk Khan. Our ukase relates to the year 1276, i.e., to the reign of Khubilai,

³⁶ Francis W. Cleaves, review of Erich Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XII, December 1949, p. 533. Attention should also be drawn to another article by Cleaves, ‘The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers’, *ibid.*, p. 404 f., in which it is shown that the Il-Khans of Persia, e.g., Abaya *Qan*, bore this form of the title.

³⁷ Poppe, *Kvadratnaia Pis’mennost’*, p. 107, note 8 (*qan*).

and therefore the ukases before him can only be of the first two, i.e., the ukases of Chingis and Ugedei. On the other hand, one must not forget that our edict was not made by the emperor himself, but by Mangala, and consequently it can only refer to the ukase of the reigning emperor, i.e., Khubilai."

In fact we are faced here with a situation parallel to that of the *Secret History*, because a distinction was made between *qan* and *qa'an* (*qaγan*). However, this distinction was not always followed. However, in all these inscriptions where the distinction is made, there is a normal form, and variant usages. I can supply no explanation of the variants, but will only indicate that contamination, careless script, a situation of linguistic change in the matter of a phoneme as the intervocalic voiced velar, may have caused a given scribe to lean to a variant of a normal form.

We have in effect five ukases attributed to Yüan emperors or high persons. In these ukases there are six king-lists with titles. In one of these, in Buyantu's first edict, of 1314, Chingis is a *qa'an* (*qaγan*). In all the others he is a *qan*. In another of these, Ögödei is a *qan*, while in all the others he is a *qaγan*.³⁸ But this second case, of Ögödei, is really not a problem since Ögödei had both titles in various parts of his career, and in fact even a more glorious one than either. All the other emperors in the six lists, twenty-six mentions in all, conform to the rule.

These are the king-lists as mentioned in the various edicts, in the order of their temporal sequence:

1. Edict of Mangala, reign of Qubilai, 1276:³⁹

jiγ[gis] qanu ba qa-anu ba jarliqdur "by decree of Chingis *qan* and the *qaγan*".

³⁸ Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, notes, "in fact we know of a number of cases where *qaγan* (*qa'an*, *qa'an*), without other specification, is a sufficient designation of Ögödei (. . . Chavannes saw very well that Ögödei is in question here, but did not recognize the title of *qaγan* given by the Mongol versions; I could add many examples to the three cited by Chavannes)." The question is precisely whether Ögödei is meant by the title *qaγan*, where there is no other specification. In the edicts mentioned in the series below, the title *qaγan* without any other specification may or may not refer to Ögödei. In the series Chingis *qan ba qa'an*, Ögödei is meant. But in Mangala's edict, where we have the form *qa-anu sudur* "by the power of the emperor", not Ögödei, but Qubilai is meant; in Buyantu's edict the form *qaγan jarliq manu* "our imperial decree" not Ögödei but Buyantu is meant; while in the edict of Darmabala's widow, Ögödei is not meant in the forms *qaγanu sudur* "by the power of the emperor" and *qaγanu jarliqdur* "the decree of the *qaγan*"; etc. Moreover, the inverse is also true, as has been shown; Ögödei was not only called *qaγan*, but also *qan*. We may identify Ögödei as the *qaγan* only where historical context permits.

³⁹ Poppe, *Kvadratnaja Pis'mennost'*, Text I, line 6. The system of transcription in this work shall be here used throughout.

2. Edict of Prince Hay-shan, reign of Ch'eng Tsung, 1305:⁴⁰
ḡḡgis qanu ba ök'ödeē qanu ba seč'en qa-anu ba ḡarliqdur "by decree of Chingis *qan*, Ögödei *qan*, and Sečen (Qubilai) *qayan*".
3. Edict of Buyantu Khan, Jen-tsung, 1314:⁴¹
ḡḡgis qanu ba qa-anu ḡarliqdur "by decree of Chingis *qan* and the *qayan*".
4. *Ibidem*:⁴²
ḡḡgis qa-anu ök'ödeē qa-anu seč'en qa-anu ölḡeētu qa-anu k'ülüg qa-anu ba ḡarliqdur "by decree of Chingis *qayan*, Ögödei *qayan*, Sečen *qayan*, Ölḡeitü *qayan*, and Gülük *qayan*".
5. Edict of Buyantu Khan, 1314 (2nd Edict):⁴³
ḡḡgis qanu ök'ödeē qa-anu seč'en qa-anu ölḡeētu qa-anu k'ülüg qa-anu ba ḡarliqdur "by decree of Chingis *qan*, Ögödei *qayan*, Sečen *qayan*, Ölḡeitü *qayan*, and Gülük *qayan*".
6. Edict of Emperor Shun-ti, no date (reigned 1333–1368):⁴⁴
ḡḡgis qanu ök'ödeē qa-nu seč'en qa-anu ölḡeētu qa-anu k'ülüg qa-anu buyantu qa-anu gege-en qa-anu qutuqtu qa-anu renčen dpal qa-anu ba ḡarliqdur „by decree of Chingis *qan*, Ögödei *qayan*, Sečen *qayan*, Ölḡeitü *qayan*, Gülük *qayan*, Buyantu *qayan*, Gegen *qayan*, Qutuqtu *qayan*, and Rinčen dpal *qayan*".

Thus with the exceptions mentioned above, Chingis is in general *qan* in the decrees of the Yüan dynasty in *ḡPhags-pa*, and his successors are *qayan*. The transition of the Mongols from a nomadic political entity to a vast empire with stable institutions over many generations was recognized in the assignment of titles. That Chingis's line all bore the imperial title *qayan* clearly demonstrates this fact.

The foundation of an empire was a novelty in Mongol history. Other new terms were devised to designate phenomena hitherto beyond their scope, as throne, and dynasty. It is clear that *oran* was an old word given a new content at this time; *oran* means "place" in most Mongol dialects.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Pelliot, *Un rescrit mongol en écriture* "ḡPhags-pa", lines 9–10.

⁴¹ Poppe, *op. cit.*, Text II, line 6.

⁴² *Loc. cit.*, lines 7–12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Text III, lines 8–13.

⁴⁴ Han Ju-lin, *Ch'eng-tu meng-wen sheng-chih pei k'ao-shih* ('L'inscription mongole en écriture ḡPhags-pa de Tch'eng-tou'), *Studia Serica*, II, Sept. 1941, lines 9–17.

⁴⁵ A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, II, Peking 1942 (*Monumenta Serica*, Monograph V), s.v. *oron* (Mostaert gives *sūdal* > *saḡudal* "trône"); A. R. Rinčine, *Kratkij Mongol'sko-Russkij Slovar'*, Moscow 1947, s.v. *oron* "country, state, region, locality; place"; G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, s.v. *oron* "bett, platz, reich, land"; the relevant Script Mongol form is *oron* "lieu, etc., royaume, etc." (J. E. Kovalevsky, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, I, Kazan' 1844). It is quite

Similarly, in the language of the *hP'ags-pa* inscriptions, in the form *oran*, it meant "place".⁴⁶

In the *Secret History* there are the following meanings for *oro(n)*: "seat, throne, camp".⁴⁷ The phrase *qan oron* occurs in the passage (para. 201) where Chingis Khan made a pact of friendship with Jamuqa, that is, some time after he had been named ruler *qan* for the first time, and shortly before he was named ruler in 1206 for the second time. Earlier in the *Secret History*, the term *oron* "throne" occurs (para. 187), and in general we are faced here with the rhetorical device *pars pro toto*.

When we turn to the word for dynasty, the question is slightly more complex. The plural of *qan*, *qad* comes closest to that meaning: thus *qad-un uruy* "the khan's family, reigning dynasty";⁴⁸ *kitad-un qad-un terigün qongγob-a qayan buyu* "The founder of the Chinese [Ming] dynasty was *qongγoba qayan*".⁴⁹ These examples are taken from Script Mongol. An example taken from a spoken idiom may be chosen from the Ordos dialect: *xad nojot* "sovereigns and princes".⁵⁰

Thus *qad* means slightly more than "dynasty", but includes it in its constellation of meanings.

The inference is that the person of the *qayan* is unique; *qan* alone may be rendered in the plural.

The Mongols during the 12th and 13th centuries evolved a set of institutions with great rapidity as they developed their empire. At their disposal, and seemingly at the disposal of all the Altaic-speaking nomads, was a set of terms to express the vast and complex structure of empire. The supreme ruler of the world of which the nomadic steppe was a part bore the title *qayan*; in the Far East his seat was in the capital of North China whether he was Chinese or nomad. Or it might be on the steppe itself if the followers of a man felt that his star would one day bring him to the throne.

The lesser rulers of the steppe bore the title *qan*. These petty rulers were not sovereigns, however; the focus of political power lay in the throne of

usual in Mongol for *o*, *a*, and liquid sonant to alternate in unstressed positions as syllabic elements. Mostaert derives Ordos *oron* from Script Mongol *orun*, likewise Ramstedt.

⁴⁶ Poppe, *op. cit.*, Vocabulary s.v. *oran*.

⁴⁷ Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *oro(n)*; *yeke oron* "glorious throne"; *qan oron* "imperial throne".

⁴⁸ Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, I, s.v. *uru*.

⁴⁹ *Činggis qayan-u čadiγ*, n.p. n.d. (Reproduction, Peking 1941? of 1925 edition), p. 61, lines 2/3. *Qongγoba* is the emperor Hung-wu. This passage can also be rendered "The first of the emperors of the Chinese was *Qongγob-a/qayan*".

⁵⁰ Mostaert, *op. cit.*, I. s.v. *xad*.

the *qaḡan*. And toward this focus the loyalty of the tributary *qan* or the rebellion of the *qan* aspiring to imperial power himself was directed.

In this context the historical figure of Chingis Khan grew. The son of an aristocrat of minor rank, through his wars and conquests in the 12th century he achieved the rank of *qan*. His election by a small group of Mongol military leaders to monarchy over the Mongols about 1200 was expressed in the honorific, *qahan*, in his new throne-name, Chingis *qahan*. This form is not a title, and it is probable, as Pelliot claimed, that the supreme title was granted him only posthumously, just as his father, Yesügei, a *bagatur*, was granted the posthumous rank of *qan*.

THE TURKIC LOAN WORDS IN MIDDLE MONGOLIAN

by

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The Mongols received their script from the Uighurs at the beginning of the XIIIth century or a little earlier. The earliest Turkic influence upon the Mongolian languages probably dates from the time of the Orkhon Turks, i. e. from the VIIIth century A.D., but we have no facts corroborating this hypothesis.

The oldest Mongolian translations of Buddhist books were made from Uighur. These translations contained numerous Turkic (Uighur) words, e. g. *sümbür tay* "the Mountain Sumeru" (*tay* "mountain"), *čaw* (*čau* or *čab*) "fame", *ayaγ-qa tegimlig* "śramaṇa" (*ayaγ-qa* is a dative of the Uighur word *ayaq* "honour"), *quvaray* "monk, clergy", etc. Many proper names and titles of historical persons were of Turkic origin as far back as the XIIth century, e. g. *buyuruy*, *külüg*, etc.

So far very little has been done to investigate the Turkic loan words in Mongolian. There is an old article by Vladimirtsov,¹ but at the time of its publication so little was known about the relation of Mongolian to the Turkic languages that Vladimirtsov had almost no criterion for deciding whether all the words he discussed were borrowings or were words of common Turco-Mongolian origin.² The inevitable result was that his article contains many words which are not borrowings at all. Therefore, the whole problem must be examined anew.

This article is devoted to the Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian as known on the basis of the *Secret History* (1240),³ the documents

¹ B. Ya. Vladimircov, 'Tureckie èlementy v mongol'skom yazykě,' *Zapiski Vostočnago Otděleniya*, XX (1911), pp. 153-184.

² At that time the affinity of the Turkic and Mongolian languages was still hypothetical; cf. Julius Németh, 'Die türkisch-mongolische Hypothese,' *ZDMG*, LXVI, pp. 549-577.

³ Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1939 (SH). The numbers refer to the pages. The transcription used in this article is that of Pelliot and the Reverend Antoine Mostaert.

written in the *ḥP'ags-pa* script (1269–1368),⁴ and the *Hua-i-i-yü* (1389).⁵ Some Turkic words common to these texts occur also in the Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian, i.e. in the Leyden manuscript (1245),⁶ the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (XIVth century),⁷ and the glossary of Ibn Muḥannā.⁸ The latter sources contain many more Turkic as well as Arabic and Persian words, but it is questionable whether all of them really occurred in the colloquial language. The authors of these dictionaries and glossaries included many words of this kind, because their informants were polyglot and when asked to translate a word into Mongolian they often took an Arabic or Persian word which occurred to them more or less at random. Therefore, the only words from the Moslem sources that are discussed in this article are those which corroborate the data of the *Secret History* and the other documents mentioned above.

The Turkic borrowings in Middle Mongolian are among the most ancient Turkic loan words in Mongolian. Most of these words can be traced in Ancient Turkic (AT),⁹ Middle Turkic (MT),¹⁰ Kuman (K),¹¹ and other old languages. Some words taken from Turkic are Persian or Arabic in origin. Nevertheless they are treated here as Turkic borrowings, because they penetrated into Mongolian through a Turkic medium. In this connection may I remark that Vladimirtsov devoted one article to the Indo-European and another to the Arabic loan words in Mongolian.¹² However, most of these words were borrowed by the Mongols from Turkic and not directly from Tokharian, Sogdian, or Arabic. Therefore, the Arabic and Persian words are not separated from original Turkic

⁴ N. N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941 (P). The numbers refer to the pages of the glossary.

⁵ Erich Haenisch, 'Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts,' *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4, Berlin, 1952 (H). The numbers refer to the pages of the glossary. The transcription used in this article is that of the Reverend A. Mostaert.

⁶ N. Poppe, 'Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift,' *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*, 1927, pp. 1009–1040, 1251–1274, 1928, pp. 55–80 (L).

⁷ N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skii Slovar'* *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, Čast' I-II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938 (Mu.).

⁸ *Spisok mongol'skix slov iz glossariya Ibn-Muxanny po izdaniyu Muallima Rif'ata* (Istanbul, 1921), Appendix IV to the work quoted in the preceding footnote (I).

⁹ S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pis'mennosti, Teksty i issledovaniya*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1951.

¹⁰ C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī's Dīvān luḡāt al-turk*, Budapest-Leipzig, 1928.

¹¹ K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch, Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*, Kopenhagen, 1942.

words in this article. Such Arabic or Persian words occur also in modern Mongolian languages, e.g. Mo. (Written Mongolian) *gindan*, Kh. (Khalkha) *gindaŋ* "jail" < Turk. (e. g. Özbek) *zindan* < Pers. *zindān* "jail"; Kalm. (Kalmuck) *zembļ* "basket" < Tatar < Pers. *zanbil*; Kalm. *asxpn* "evening" < Tatar *aqxam* < Arabic *aqşam* id., etc. There is no reason to separate such words from Turkic, because their immediate source was a Turkic language.

The Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian are as follows:

al "red, dark-red" SH 4, cf. P 145, cf. Mo. *al* id., Bur. (Buriat) only in *al šara* "reddish yellow", Kalm. *al* "light-red", *al ulān* id. < Turk.: MT *al* "red", K *al* "light-red".

alačuy "tent" SH 4 < Turk.: MT *alaču* id., K *alačuq* "hut" > Russian *lačuga* "hut".

alan "the bottom of a cart" SH 4 < Turk.: Alt., Tel., Leb., Shor.¹² *alīn* "bottom, the lower part of an object, the place under an object", Yak. *alīn* "the lower part," MT *alīn* "the front side", K *alīn* "front, forehead".

alašas "a particular breed of horses" SH 4 < Turk.: Kas., Krm. *alaša* "gelding", Osm. *alaša* "horse".

aral "island" SH 8, as a place name H 59, cf. Mu. 104 "island", Mo., Kh., Ord. (Ordos), Bur. *aral*, Kalm. *arļ*, Mong. (Monguor) *arā* id. < Turk.: AT *aral* "forest, grove" ("an island in the steppe"), Kirg. *aral* "island".

ariγ "pure" in *ariγ usun* "clean water" (a place name) SH 9, cf. Mong. *arag* < Turk.: AT, MT *arīγ* "clean". The Mongolian forms are Mo. *ariγun*, MMo. *ari'un*, Bur. *arūŋ*, Kh. *arīūŋ*, Ord. *arūn*, Kalm. *ärūn* "pure, clean, immaculate, holy", Mong. *arāŋ* id.

baq "garden" P 146, cf. Mu. 109 *bay* < Turk.: MT *bay* "vineyard", K *bay* id. < Pers. *bāy* "garden, vineyard".

bars "tiger" SH 13, P 146 *bars* id., L 1265 *bars* id., Mo. *bars*, Kh. *baras* ~ *bars* ~ *bar*, Ord. *bar*, Kalm. *bars* id. < Turk.: AT, MT *bars* "tiger".

bezirget "merchants" (a plural from *bezirgen*) H 50 < Turk.: K *bazar-gan* "merchant" < Pers. *bāzārgān* id.

¹² B. Ya. Vladimircov, 'Mongolica I, Ob otnošenii mongol'skogoazyka k indoevropskim yazykam Srednei Azii,' *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, I, pp. 305-341; 'Arabskie slova v mongol'skom yazyke,' *ibid.*, V, pp. 73-82.

¹³ The abbreviations of the names of the Turkic languages here are: Alt. - Altai, Chag. - Chaghatai, Kas. - Kasan Tatar, Kirg. - Kirgiz, Krm. - Crimean, Leb. - Lebed, Osm. - Osmanli, Shor. - Schor dialect, Tel. - Telengit, Yak. - Yakut.

bor “wine” SH 19, Mu. 121 < Turk.: MT, K *bor* id.

buqa’u “k’ang, a torture instrument consisting of a board fastened to the neck of a criminal”, SH 21, cf. Mu. 222 *buqa’u* “ring”, Ord., Kalm. *buγū* “bracelet” < Turk.: MT *buqayū* “pillory”, Tob. *buγau* “fetters”, Osm. *boqayī* id.

bulγa “feud, fight” SH 21, cf. H 50 “uprising”, I 434 *bulγa* “battle”, L 1266 *bulγaq* “feud” < Turk.: MT, K *bulγaq* “disturbance, upheaval”, Chag. *bulγay* id.

čačir “tent” SH 25, cf. Mu. 130 *čadur* id. < Turk.: MT *čačir* ~ *čatir*, K *čatir* id. < Pers. *čādar* “tent, pavilion”.

čöl “a place name” SH 174, H 59, cf. Mu. 136 *čöl* “desert” < Turk.: AT, Chag., Osm., Krm., Tel., Alt., Leb. *čöl* “steppe”.

dašmad “Muhammadan clergy” P 148, cf. Mu. 383 *danišmand* “savant” < Turk.: East Turki *danišmān* “savant, wise” < Pers. *danišmand*.

ėrdini ~ *ėrtini* “jewel” P 150, cf. Mo. *erdeni*, Kh. *ėrdeni*, Ord. *erdeni*, Bur. *erdeñi*, Kalm. *erdəñ* id. < Turk.: Uig. *erdeni* ~ *erdini* ~ *ertini* < Sanskr. *ratna* id.

ertiñčü “world” H 51, cf. P 159 *yėrt^cinǰū* id., Mo. *yirtiñčü*, Kh. *yörtömcö* id. < Turk.: AT *yirtinčü* id. > Tibet. *hǰig-rten* id.

ed “goods, products” SH 47, cf. Mu. 115 *et* “goods”, Mo. *ed*, Kh., Bur. *ed* id. < Turk.: MT *eđ* “fabric”.

inaγ “favourite” SH 82, *ina’ud* plur., cf. Mu. 196 *inaq* “locum tenens”, Mo. *inaγ* “intimate friend”, Kh. *yanag*, Kalm. *inəg* “friend” < Turk.: AT *inaq* “friend”, K *inaq* ~ *inaγ* “faithful”, cf. AT *inan-* “to trust”.

inǰirčay “pack-saddle” SH 82, cf. Kalm. *yanǰıçog* id. < Turk.: Alt., Tel. *inǰirčaq* id., Sag. “the wooden parts of a saddle”, Kir. *inǰiršaq* “pack-saddle”, cf. Yak. *inǰir* “saddle”.

jada “magic, the ability of the sorcerers to make rain” SH 84, cf. Mu. 200 *jadu* “magic” < Turk.: Chag., Osm. *yada* < Pers. *jadū* “magic”.

jarliγ “edict” SH 86, H 53, cf. P 151 *jarliq*, Mu. 202 *jarliq* “order”, Mo. *jarliγ*, Kh. *zarlig*, Ord. *žarlig*, Bur. *zarl’ig*, Kalm. *zärləg* id. < Turk.: AT, MT *yarliq* ~ *yarliγ* “order, edict”.

jad “stranger, foreigner” SH 87 (the translation “people” given in the Wörterbuch is not correct), cf. Mu. 203 *jat* id. < Turk.: AT, MT, K *yat* “strange, foreign”.

k^cebid “shop” P 152 < Turk.: MT, K *kebit* “shop, store” > Russ. *kibitka* “yurt”.

kibča’ut “the Kipchak Turks” SH 179, a plural from *kibčay* < Turk.: MT *qifčaq*, K *qipčaq* id.

kirgisüd “the Kirgiz” SH 179, a plur. from *kirgis* < Turk.: AT, MT

qırγız id. Cf. also Kh. *χerχis* id. and *χergsūr* < *kirgis egür* "an ancient tomb", lit. "a Kirgis nest".

kisilbaşı name of a lake SH 179 < Turk. *qızıl* "red" and *baş* "head".

kişilig a personal name SH 179 < Turk. *qışliq* "pertaining or referring to the winter".

körşis "the neighbours" H 54, cf. I 440 *körşi* "neighbour", Mo. *körsi*, Bur. *χürşi* < Turk.: MT *körşi* "friend", Yak. *körsü* "lover" from *körüş-* "to see each other".

külüg "hero", plur. *külüüüd* SH 105, P 153 *k'ülüg* name of an emperor, cf. Mo. *külüg* "a good horse, steed", Bur. *χüleg*, Kh. *χülig*, Kalm. *külü'g* "steed" < Turk.: AT *kü* "fame", *külig* "famous", MT *külüg* "famous", Uig. *külüg* "a race-horse", KKir. *külük* id., Chag. *külük* "a big dog".

naγud or *naqud* "money, coins" SH 113 (the translation "gold ore" given there is not correct), cf. Mu. 245 *naqd* "cash" < Turk.: Osm. *naqit* "cash", K *naqt* id. < Arab. *naqd* "cash".

nal "ruby" P 154, cf. Mo. *nal* id., Kh. *nal erdeni* "corundum", Kalm. *nal* name of a precious stone < Turk.: K, Osm., Krm. *lāl* < Pers. *lāl* "ruby" > Russ. *lal'* id.

ortoγud "merchants", a plur. from *ortay* H 56, cf. Mu. 271 *ortaq* ~ *ortay* "merchand" < Turk.: MT *ortaq* "companion", K *ortaq* id., Chag. *ortaq* "merchand".

ölüg "dead", *ölümlegü* "to be engaged in a life or death struggle" SH 124 < Turk.: MT *ölüg* "dead", K *ölü* id., MT *ölüm* "death", K *ölüm* id.

örüg "rest, peace, quiet" SH 128, cf. Mo. *örüg* id.¹⁴ < Turk.: MT *örük bol-* "to take a rest".

qablan "tiger" SH 54 (the translation "the name of a predatory animal" is not accurate), cf. L 62 *qablan* "tiger" < Turk.: Kir., KKir. *qablan* id.

qačir name of a river SH 176, cf. *qačidud* "mules" SH 55, cf. L 61 *qačir* "mule", Mu. 130 *qačir* id. < Turk.: Chag., Kir., Kaz. *qačir* id.

qalibai soltan "the Calif, the Sultan" SH 176 < Turk. *χalifa* < Arab. *χalīfa* "Calif".

qan melig a personal name SH 176 < Turk.: Osm. *melik* "king" < Arab. *malik* id.

qarši "palace" SH 62, Mo. *qarši*, Kh. *ordo χarši* id., Kalm. *χarşı* id. < Turk.: MT, Chag. *qarşı* id. < Kučan *kerciye* or Sanskrit *griha* "house".

qoş "tent, a travel tent" SH 68 (the translation "house" is not quite

¹⁴ N. N. Poppe, 'Zolotoordynskaya rukopis' na bereste,' *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, II (1941), p. 108.

correct), cf. Kalm. *xoš* „a temporary tent” < Turk.: Kir. *qoš* “a temporary dwelling, a hut”, Chag. *qoš* “camp”.

gošliy “tent” SH 68, cf. the preceding word.

qulan “wild horse”, plur. *qulad* SH 71, cf. Mu. *qulan* id., Mo. *qulan*, Kh. *χulan*, Ord. *χulan*, Kalm. *χulɿ* id. < Turk.: MT *qulan*, Kir. *qulan* id.

sarqud “meat for sacrifices” SH 132 < Turk.: Kir. *sarqit* “the left overs of food given to inferior persons”, Chag. *sarqut* id., Chag. *saryud* “grace, favour, food”; Mo. *sarqud* and Kh. *sarxad*, Ord. *sarxud* “wine” is probably the same word, although its meaning is different.

širge “vinegar” S 60,¹⁵ cf. Mu. 323 *sirke* (or *sirge*) id. < Turk.: MT, K *sirke* id.

soltan ~ *sultan* “king” SH 135 < Turk.: K *sultan* < Arab. *sulṭān* id.

tana “a great pearl” SH 145, cf. Mo. *tana*, Bur. *eržen tana* “mother of pearl”, Kh., Ord. *tanv*, Kalm. *tanv* id. < Turk.: MT *tana* “grain” < Pers. *dāna* “grain, pearl.”

tegirmed “mills” P 157 < Turk.: MT, Chag. *tegirmen* “mill”, K *tergirmen* (*tegirmen*) id.; cf. Mo. *tegerme*, Kh. *tērem*, Kalm. *tērmy* “mill”.

tengis name of a big body of water SH 148 < Turk.: MT *tengiz* “sea”, K *teñiz* id., cf. Kalm. *tengäs* “sea” < Turk.

toyin “a buddhist monk” H 57, cf. P 149 *doyid* “monks”, cf. Mo. *toyin*, Kh. *toiɿ*, Kalm. *tōn* “a buddhist monk of noble origin” < Turk.: AT *toyin* “monk”, Yak. *toyon* “master, chief” < Chinese *tao-jên*.¹⁶

toyi “front line, battle line” SH 152 < Turk.: MT *toy* “military camp”.

toyla- “to dance” SH 152 < Turk.: Kir. *toylo-* “to celebrate, to make a festival”.

tuy “banner” SH 153, cf. Mo. *tuy*, Ord., Kh., Kalm. *tug* < Turk.: AT, MT *tuy* id.

turas “quadrangular shields” SH 154, a plural from *tura* < Turk.: MT *tura* “shield, parapet.” Mo. *tura* “building”, Bur. *tura* “house, town, city”, Bur. *burxan tura* “church”, Kh. *tura* “city” is the same word and is also a loan.¹⁷

turyay “watch, guard”, plur. *turyaʼud* SH 155 < Turk.: Uig., Chag. *turyaq* “night watch, night guard, sentry” from *tur-* “to stand”.

¹⁵ Erich Haenisch, ‘Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft, Eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit Beigabe dreier noch unveröffentlichter Phagspa-Inschriften,’ *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 92. Band, 2. Heft, Leipzig, 1940, S. 58.

¹⁶ A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950, S. 343.

¹⁷ Aulis Joki, ‘Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen,’ *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, CIII (1952), p. 339–340.

uluy tay a place name SH 183 < Turk.: AT, MT *uluy* "big, great" and *tay* "mountain".

uruγ "relatives" SH 167, cf. P 158 *uruqut* "seeds", Mu. 248 *uruq* "in-laws", Mo. *uruγ*, Kh. *urag*, Kalm. *ur"ḡ* "relatives" < Turk.: AT *uruγ* "relatives, seeds".

uruγ tariγ "relatives" H 56 < Turk.: MT *uruγ tariγ* id.

yalavači a personal name SH 184 < Turk.: AT *yalabač* "messenger", MT *yalavač* "messenger, prophet".

SOGDIANA AND THE HSIUNG-NU

by

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I

The relationship between the Huns and the Hsiung-nu has been a subject of serious discussion among scholars interested in ancient Eurasian history ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, when Deguignes published the 'Mémoire sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs' and the 'Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux'.¹ Some of these scholars insist on the identity of these two peoples on account of the similarity of their names, as well as of their manners and customs, while others maintain their difference because of the dissimilarity of their languages. Thanks to the development of archaeological research in Mongolia, southern Russia and their adjacent territories, it has recently become clear that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu used weapons, ornamental objects and other household utensils of a quite similar type, and some scholars look upon their identity as beyond dispute.² However, we must not forget that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu were the nomads who lived respectively in the western and the eastern parts of the same Eurasian steppe and that the Huns appeared about two centuries after the disappearance of the Hsiung-nu. It is quite natural that both of them should have used weapons and other utensils of a similar

¹ For the history of studies on the relationship between the Huns and the Hsiung-nu, see K. Inostrantsev, *Khunnu i Gunny*, 2nd ed., Leningrad 1926; N. Egami, 'Kyôdo Fun Dôzokuron (The identity of the Huns and the Hsiung-nu)', in *Yûrasia Kodai Hoppôbunka*, Tokyo 1948, pp. 319 ff.; G. Uchida, 'Konseiki ni okeru Fun Mondai kenkyû no kaiko to myôichi e no kadai (Retrospect of studies concerning the Huns in this century and problems to be studied in the future)', *Minzokugaku Kenkyû*, XIV, 1950, pp. 219-227; F. Tsunoda, 'Fun-zoku to Kyôdo (The Huns and the Hsiung-nu)', in *Kodai Hoppôbunka no Kenkyû*, Kyoto 1954, pp. 191-209. The views of Japanese scholars are introduced and reviewed in these publications.

² The best example is F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen*, Baden-Baden 1951. H. Ho-meyer, *Attila, der Hunnenkönig*, Berlin 1951, p. 20, is much more cautious on this point.

kind. Such arguments cannot therefore be looked upon as positive proof of their identity.

The only evidence which is believed to have positively established their identity is the following description from the Wei-shu, Bk. 102:

“The country of Su-t’ê is situated to the west of Ts’ung-ling (Pamir). It is what was Yen-ts’ai in ancient times. It is also called Wên-na-sha. It lies on an extensive swamp and to the north-west of K’ang-chü. It is 16,000 li distant from Tai (the present Ta-t’ung, the capital of Wei). Formerly, the Hsiung-nu killed the king (of Su-t’ê) and took the country. King Hu-i was the third ruler of the line. Merchants of that country used to come in great number to the district Liang(-chou, the present Wu-wei) to trade. When Ku-tsang (i.e. Wu-wei) was conquered (by the Wei in 439) all of them were captured. In the beginning of the reign of Kao-tsung (452–465) the king (of Su-t’ê) sent embassies to ask for their ransom, which was granted by the order of the emperor (Kao-tsung). Since then no embassy came (to the court of Wei) to pay tribute.”³

Since it was in the year 457 that Su-t’ê sent embassies to the court of Wei in the reign of Kao-tsung,⁴ Su-t’ê must have asked for the ransom of their merchants in this year.⁵ N. A. Aristov⁶ and F. Hirth⁷ identified the Huns with the Hsiung-nu on the basis of this statement of the Wei-shu, which they believed to be an uncontested literal proof of their identity. According to Hirth, Su-t’ê is identical with Sughdak or Soldaia in Crimea; the conquest of Su-t’ê by the Hsiung-nu with that of the Alans by the Huns; the king Hu-i⁸ with Hernac or Ernac, the youngest son and successor of Attila, who withdrew to Scythia Minor, which was Crimea, soon after the death of his father in 454.⁹

The identification made by Hirth has been accepted by many scholars,

³ Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 3b. See Hirth in *JAOS*, XXX, p. 42; N. Ya. Bichurin (Iakinf), *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh . . .*, II, 2nd ed., Moskva-Leningrad 1950, pp. 260–261.

⁴ Wei-shu, Bk. 5, f. 1b, in the third year of T’ai-an.

⁵ Prior to this, in 435, 439, and 444 embassies came to the court of Wei from Su-t’ê (Wei-shu, Bk. 4b, f. 2a).

⁶ N. A. Aristov, ‘Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave tyurkskikh plemen i narodnostei’, *Jivaya starina*, 1896, III–IV. Cf. Inostrantsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100 (Japanese translation, Tokyo 1942, pp. 132–133).

⁷ F. Hirth, ‘Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu’, *Sitzb. d. philos.-philol. u. histor. Classe d. Königl. Bayer. Acad. d. Wiss.*, II, 2, München 1899, pp. 245–278; Do., ‘Hunnenforschungen’, *Keleti Szemle*, II, 1901, pp. 81–91, 158–161; Do., ‘Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu’, *JAOS*, XXX, 1909, pp. 32–45.

⁸ Hirth at first misread this name as Hu-i-chi or -ssü, but he afterwards rightly reread it Hu-i. Iakinf rightly read it Hu-i (*op. cit.*, II, p. 260).

⁹ According to modern writers, Attila’s death occurred in 453. Cf. E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns*, Oxford 1948, p. 148; Homeyer, *Attila*, p. 189 u. Synoptische Tafel. B. Spuler in *Geschichte Asiens*, München 1950, p. 321, still maintains the year as 454.

with¹⁰ or without modification.¹¹ As far as I know, there are two people who reject Hirth's theory. One is K. Shiratori who has identified Su-t'ê with Sogdiana in Central Asia and the Hsiung-nu with the Hephthalites.¹² The other is Mr. C. A. Macartney who is of the opinion that the conclusion of Hirth is more than doubtful.¹³ Unfortunately, I do not know the grounds for Mr. Macartney's view. However, considering that he is a specialist in the history of the Huns from European sources, his criticism may not have been made from the sinological point of view. I also regret not being able to consult the article of Prof. O. Maenchen-Helfen, 'Huns and Hsiung-nu', *Byzantion*, XVII, 1944-1945, pp. 222-243. I myself can agree neither with the opinion of Hirth nor with that of Shiratori. My view is that Su-t'ê of the Wei-shu can be identified with the Sogdiana in Central Asia (the conclusion reached by Shiratori), but that the Hsiung-nu, who had nothing to do with the Huns, were a people whom the Chinese knew as a Hsiung-nu, and that these Hsiung-nu invaded and ruled Sogdiana and were afterwards conquered by the Hephthalites.¹⁴ I do not deny the possibility of identifying the Huns with the Hsiung-nu, but I want to establish that the statement of the Wei-shu cannot be looked upon as an uncontested proof of the identity of the Huns and the Hsiung-nu.

As is well known, the original chapter of the Wei-shu on Western Regions was lost, and the present one is an adaptation made some time before 1061 from the Pei-shih or the History of the Northern Dynasties.¹⁵ If we compare the present text of the Wei-shu with that of the Pei-shih, we can easily see that the former is a copy of the latter, slightly modified to make it conform to a statement made in the time of the Wei Dynasty. For instance, in the Wei-shu the statement of the Pei-shih in connection

¹⁰ E.g., Egami, *op. cit.*, for which see my review in *Tôyô Bunka*, I, 1950, pp. 150-157.

¹¹ E.g., Uchida, 'Kyôdo Seii Nenpyô (Chronological table of the westward migration of the Hsiung-nu)', *Tôyôshi Kenkyû*, II, 1, 1936, pp. 15-35.

¹² First published in the *Tôyô Gakuhô*, XIV, 4, 1924, and afterwards included in the collection of his articles on Central Asian history, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, Tokyo 1944, pp. 57-165. English translation in the *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko*, II, 1936, pp. 81-145. Cf. Pelliot's recension in *TP*, 1929, p. 365.

¹³ C. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Macartney's view is published in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, X, 1934, pp. 106-114, which I have not at my disposition.

¹⁴ The outline of my opinion was published under the title of 'Gisho Zokutokukokuden to Kyôdo Hunnen Mondai (Su-t'ê of the Wei-shu and the identity of the Huns and the Hsiung-nu)', in *Jinbun*, II, 1948, p. 106, and that of 'Hun Kyôdo Dôzokuron no Hihan (Re-examination of Huns and Hsiung-nu identity)' in *Tôyô Bunka*, I, 1950, pp. 152-157. Cf. recension of Tsunoda, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁵ According to G. Uchida, the adaptation was made before 1178. Cf. 'Gisho no Seiritsu ni tsuite (On the compilation of the Wei-shu)', *Tôyôshi Kenkyû*, II, 6, 1937, pp. 19-21, 26.

with embassies of Su-t'ê in 546 to the court of Chou has been omitted, obviously for the reason that it had nothing to do with the Wei.¹⁶ However, as the Pei-shih itself is an adaptation of histories of Northern Dynasties such as Wei, Chou, Ch'i, and Sui, it is not difficult to distinguish the part taken from the Wei-shu from those taken from other histories. Among these histories of Northern Dynasties, in the Chou-shu or the History of the Chou Dynasty, Bk. 50, f. 3b, the following reference is made to Su-t'ê:

"The country of Su-t'ê is situated to the west of Ts'ung-ling (Pamir). It is probably what was An-ts'ai (= Yen-ts'ai) in ancient times. It is also called Wên-na-sha. Its capital is on an extensive swamp. The country lies to the north-west of K'ang-chü. In the fourth year of Pao-t'ing (564) their king sent embassies (to the court of Chou) to pay tribute."

This statement is quite similar to the one in the Wei-shu cited above, except for the account of the embassy of 564, but from citations made from the original Wei-shu in the T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi and the T'ung-tien, we can establish that the Wei-shu originally contained a similar statement and that the Chou-shu and the Pei-shih copied the Wei-shu. Lo Shih, the editor of the T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi, died in 1007¹⁷ and Tu Yu completed the T'ung-tien in 801,¹⁸ and so the citations must have been made from the original Wei-shu. The Wei-shu cited in the T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi, Bk. 186, under Su-i, says that "Su-t'ê is also called Wên-na-sha. It is what was (known as) the country of Yen-ts'ai in ancient times." And the Hou-wei-shih, that is to say the Wei-shu, cited in the T'ung-tien, Bk. 193, under Yen-ts'ai, says that "Formerly, the Hsiung-nu killed their king and occupied the country. In the reign of emperor Wên-ch'êng (i.e. Kao-tsung) they sent for the first time embassies (to the court of Wei) to pay tribute. King Hu-i was the third ruler of the line." The citation of the T'ung-tien is made as a commentary on the statement that Yen-ts'ai was called Su-t'ê or Wên-na-sha under the Wei and so the passage obviously refers to the country of Su-t'ê. We may also safely say that the account concerning the merchants of Su-t'ê, who had been captured by the Wei, was in the original Wei-shu, because it is an event

¹⁶ It is a mistake in the re-editing of the Wei-shu that the author has not left out the description of K'ang-kuo (Samarkand), which is evidently the statement in the Sui-shu, Bk. 83, f. 3a.

¹⁷ I-nien-lu-hui-pien, ed. 1925, Bk. 3, f. 4b.

¹⁸ Z. Tamai, 'Daitô Rikuten oyobi Tsuten no Sôkanpon ni tsuite (Some remarks on the Sung editions of Ta-t'ang-liu-tien and T'ung-tien)', *Shinagaku*, VII, p. 303 (also in *Shina Shakai Keizaishi Kenkyû*, Tokyo 1942, pp. 444-446). Cf. T. Naitô in *Kanô Kyôju Kanrekikinen Shinagaku Ronsô*, Kyoto 1928, pp. 5-8, and Chêng Ho-shêng, *Tu Yu nien-pu*, Shanghai 1934, pp. 96-97, 107-108.

which took place under the Wei. In this way we can confirm that the statement about Su-t'ê of the present Wei-shu can be looked upon as almost, if not exactly, the same as the original of the Wei-shu.

Now, according to the Wei-shu, Su-t'ê at the time of Wei is what was called Yen-ts'ai in ancient times. The Chou-shu, as is cited above, also says that Su-t'ê is *probably* what was known as Yen-ts'ai in ancient times. If we consider that there is no other evidence to prove the existence of a country or a people named Yen-ts'ai under the Wei and the Chou, we can see that identity of Su-t'ê and Yen-ts'ai was not an established fact, but the opinion of the editor of the Wei-shu. So we must not start from the assumption that these two countries were one and the same, but we must consider whether such an identification is possible or not.

Yen-ts'ai had been known to the Chinese from the Former Han to the Wei of the Three Kingdoms, that is to say from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., as a country on the north-west of K'ang-chü, which is not Sogdiana as had been wrongly assumed by many scholars, but a country or a people in the present Kirghiz Steppe to the north of the Syr.¹⁹ According to the Shih-chi, Bk. 123, Yen-ts'ai was situated at a distance of about 2,000 li to the north-west of K'ang-chü; it was a country of nomads; the number of archers was some hundred thousand odd; it lay on an extensive swamp, which was endless and was said to be the North Sea.²⁰ The Han-shu, Bk. 96a, which is a copy of the Shih-chi, says the same thing.²¹ In the Wei-liao, a history of the Wei of the Three Kingdoms, it is stated that countries of Liu, Yen and Yen-ts'ai, which was also called A-lan, had the same manners and customs as K'ang-chü; these countries bordered on Ta-ch'in in the west and K'ang-chü in the southeast and produced in large quantities furs of martens of superior quality; (their inhabitants) grazed cattle and wandered in search of grass and water; these countries formerly belonged to K'ang-chü, but not under the Wei.²² The Hou-han-shu, Bk. 118, which is probably

¹⁹ Shiratori, *Seikishi Kenkyû*, I, Tokyo 1941, pp. 71-120; II, pp. 64-81 (*Memoirs of the R. D. of the Toyo Bunko*, II, pp. 84-90). However, K'ang-chü is still confused with Sogdiana or Khwarizm by the most recent writers, such as E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World*, Princeton 1947, p. 78, note 18; S. P. Tolstov in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk, Seriya istorii i filosofii*, 1945, pp. 281-284; Do., *Drevnii Khorezm*, Moskva 1948, pp. 18 ff.; F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen*, p. 44. See on this point R. N. Frye in *HJAS*, X, 3/4, 1947, p. 445.

²⁰ Shih-chi, Bk. 123, f. 1b. Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 150; F. Hirth, 'The Story of Chang K'ien', *JAOS*, XXXVII, p. 96. Here the North Sea means the Arctic Ocean.

²¹ Han-shu, Bk. 96a, f. 5a. Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 186; J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesischen Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, II, Berlin u. Leipzig 1926, p. 105. I cannot consult Wylie's translation on the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1881 and 1882.

²² Wei-chih, Bk. 30, f. 8b. E. Chavannes, 'Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-liao',

based on the Wei-liu, says that Yen-ts'ai changed its name to A-lan²³.

If we compare these statements concerning Yen-ts'ai with the Wei-shu account of Su-t'ê, it is clear that it is Yen-ts'ai of the Former Han and Three Kingdoms that was situated on an extensive swamp to the north-west of K'ang-chü and that the Wei-shu has copied either the Shih-chi or the Han-shu. Even the distance of 16,000 li, given as that from Tai, the present Ta-t'ung, to Su-t'ê, is calculated from figures given in the Han-shu. According to the Han-shu, the distance from Yen-ts'ai to K'ang-chü is 2,000 li (the same figures are given in the Shih-chi) and that from K'ang-chü to Ch'ang-an is 12,300 li. If we add to the total of these two distances 1,900 li, which was the distance from Tai to Ch'ang-an, we get 16,000 li. This means that the distance given as that from Tai to Su-t'ê is actually the distance from Tai to Yen-ts'ai under the Han.²⁴ But it is quite unlikely that one went to Su-t'ê from the present Ta-t'ung by way of Ch'ang-an in the time of Wei, as Su-t'ê was somewhere in Central Asia. If one wanted to go to Su-t'ê or to any other Central Asian country from Tai, one might have gone to Liang-chou (Wu-wei) by crossing Ordos or by following the course of the Yellow River, then proceeding to the north-west as far as Tun-huang. And further, considering that the editor of the Wei-shu makes many references to the Han-shu when describing countries of Western Regions, we can ascertain that the Wei-shu copied the statement of Han-shu about Yen-ts'ai and inserted it under Su-t'ê.

Yen-ts'ai was a nomadic people or a country to the north-west of

TP, 1905, pp. 558-559. These countries in the Wei-liu have been studied in detail by K. Shiratori, *Seikishi Kenkyû*, II, pp. 481-484, 628-643. According to him, Liu stands for Raw in Mordwinian Rawaksh "inhabitants on the Raw or Wolga", and meant the Finnish people on the middle reaches of the Wolga; Yen stands for Kama, a tributary of the Wolga; and Yen-ts'ai, *iäp-ts'at or *iäp-šat, stands for Kipchak and designates the present regions on the Caspian and Aral Sea.

²³ Hou-han-shu, Bk. 118, f. 4a. Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 229; E. Chavannes, 'Les pays d'occident d'après le Heou-han-chou', TP, 1907, pp. 195; Shiratori in *Memoirs*, II, p. 99. The Hou-han-shu, Bk. 118, f. 2a (Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 221; Chavannes in TP, 1907, p. 168) says that the chapter on Western Regions is based on Pan Yung. But, seeing that the Hou-han-shu makes reference to events occurring after the death of Pan Yung, it is clear that other sources were also made use of. It is not certain whether the account of A-lan was taken from Pan Yung or from the Wei-liu.

²⁴ The distance from Tai to Ch'ang-an is given in the Yüan-ho-chün-hsien-chih, Bk. 14 under Yün-chou, as 1,960 li. H. Matsuda has pointed out that the distance from Tai to Su-t'ê is nothing but the distance from Tai to Yen-ts'ai under the Han. See Matsuda, 'Gisho Seikiden no hihan to Eppankoku no hôi (A critical study of the Chapter on Western Regions of the Wei-shu, with special reference to the location of the country of Yüeh-pan)', *Taishô Daigaku Gakuhô*, X, pp. 31-38. According to Matsuda, Tung Yüan did not actually visit the country of Su-t'ê, hence his falsification of the distance.

K'ang-chü. The extensive swamp on which Yen-ts'ai was situated must either be the Aral or the Caspian Sea or these two seas combined. In those days the Chinese were not able to distinguish the Caspian from the Aral Sea and they thought that the Aral Sea extended northward, as well as westward, for an unlimited distance. The real name of Yen-ts'ai has not yet been definitely established. It is supposed to be a transcription either of Abzoe, Aorsi, Kipchak, Massagetae, and so on.²⁵ On the other hand, A-lan is obviously a transcription of Alan, a nomadic tribe grazing on the steppe to the east of the Don and to the north of the Caucasus in the fourth and fifth centuries. Though we do not know exactly where the Alans originated and where they had stayed during the later Han and the Three Kingdoms, i.e. in the first, second, and third centuries of our era, it may be that they had been either on the Caspian Sea or the Aral Sea; and it is possible that because the Alans occupied the territory of Yen-ts'ai, the latter changed its name to A-lan.²⁶ So far as Chinese records are concerned,²⁷ the name of A-lan does not appear again until it is described

²⁵ Abzoe (Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, I, pp. 522-526, but later he abandoned this theory. F. J. Teggart, *China and Rome*, Berkeley 1939, pp. 200 ff.); Aorsi (W. Tomaschek in *Pauly's RE.* under Alani; Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, Shanghai and Hongkong, 1885, p. 139 note 1; Do., 'Über Wolga-Hunnen und die Hiung-nu', *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff.; A. von Gutschmidt, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer*, Tübingen 1888, p. 69); Kipchak (Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, pp. 633-643, and Ch'ên Chung-mien in *Fu-jên-hsieh-chih*, IV, 2, pp. 1-6, and V, 1/2, pp. 1-31); Massagetae (J. Marquart, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran, II,' *Philologus*, LV, 1896, p. 240; Do., 'Die nichtslavischen (altbulgarischen) Ausdrücke in der bulgarischen Fürstenliste', *TP*, 1910, p. 661 note 2. Cf. Do., *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, p. 65 note 1, and also A. Herrmann in *Southern Tibet*, VIII, p. 208); Osset. varzä (J. Marquart in *OZ*, VIII, p. 292 note 3); Alan - Wu-sun (Charpentier in *ZDMG*, LXXI, pp. 360 ff.); Ya-tsê-i (Iastae?) or Osset (Hung Chien, *Yüan-shih-yi-wên-chêng-pu*, Bk. 27a, ed. 1897, pp. 8, 9, 12). According to Li Wên-t'ien (note to Shuang-ch'i-tsu-yin-chi, Bk. 6, f. 3a, in *Chih-fu-chai-ts'ung-shu*), Ya-lü Chu, son of Ya-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, already identified Yen-ts'ai with Kipchak. See note 27.

²⁶ Amm. Marcellinus, XXXI, 2, 13; "and by repeated victories they (the Halani, i.e. Alans) wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name." (ed. Loeb Classical Series, III, p. 389). Cf. Shiratori, *Seiki-shikenkyû*, II, pp. 479, 642-643. Teggart, *China and Rome*, pp. 200 ff., is of the opinion that Yen-ts'ai, which he identifies with the Abzoe, were called A-lan because of their confederation with the Alans. But, seeing that the Alans had been to the west of Yen-ts'ai, it is very curious that their confederates, if there were any, were called A-lan by the Chinese who lived in the Far East.

²⁷ The Kua-ti-chih, compiled in the middle of the seventh century, says that Yen-ts'ai was a wine country (*Memoirs of the R. D. of the Tōyō Bunka*, II, 100). This is probably because the editor of the book accepted the identification made in the Wei-shu and thought superior wine was produced in Yen-ts'ai. In the Shuang -ch'i-tsu-yin-chi, Bk. 6, f. 2b-3a, Ya-lü Chu, enumerating eight nomadic delicacies, says that chu-k'ang is a Yen-ts'ai word and means ma-tung or kumiss. *Chu-k'ang* is obviously a transcription of Mong. *chāghān* "kumiss" (Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 438b). Ya-lü

in the Sui-shu, Bk. 84, as one of the tribes to the east of Fu-lin or the Eastern Roman Empire. These tribes are Ên-ch'ü (Onogur), A-lan (Alan), Pei-ju-chiu-li (Bashikir) and 'Fu-wên-hun (Bulgar).²⁸ They may have been grazing on both the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea and we must notice that neither Yen-ts'ai nor any other similar name is mentioned here. The Sui-shu also informs us of tribes to the east and to the west of the Tê-i Sea. They are Su-lu-chieh (Saragur?), San-so, Yen-mieh (Avar?) and Ts'u-lung-hu (Utrigur?, Kutrigur?).²⁹ Tê-i, **tək-ŋgi*, is considered to be a transcription of Turkish *tängiz* "sea or big lake" and this Tê-i is identified either with the Caspian Sea or with the Balkhash Lake to the north of the T'ien-shan Mountains.³⁰ In any case we cannot find any name similar to Yen-ts'ai among these tribes. This means that there was no territory and no tribe known to the Chinese under the name Yen-ts'ai during the Sui (581-617) in the Aralo-Caspian regions. Under the Wei and the Chou, there existed no country or tribe called Yen-ts'ai by the Chinese, as is well proved by the statement of the Wei-shu and Chou-shu, which says that *Su-t'ê* was what *Yen-ts'ai* had been in ancient times.

Chu says that both Han-shu and Hou-han-shu do not give the reading of Yen-ts'ai, except that Yen Shih-ku says in connection with Mei-ts'ai, king of Ta-yüan, that *ts'ai* ought to be read as *ch'ien-ko-ch'ieh*, that is to say, *ch'o*. Having compared various readings given in books of rhymes, he accepted Yen Shi-ku's reading as correct and remarked that in his days there were still descendants, who were generally engaged in producing kumiss. Li Wên-t'ien, the editor of Shuang-ch'i-tsui-yin-chi, is of the opinion that Ya-lü Chu regards *Yen-ts'ai* as an old transcription of *Ch'in-ch'a*, Kipchak. In any case it is clear from the description of Ya-lü Chu that Yen-ts'ai did not really exist in his day, but a people whom he thought identical with the descendants of Yen-ts'ai. A-lan is mentioned in the Wei-shu, Bk. 101, f. 4b, as a tribe to the north of the T'u-yü-hun, but this is an inexact copying of the Pei-shih, Bk. 96, f. 5b, which says that K'o-lan was a tribe to the north of Mt. Po-lan, the present Burkhan Buddha in the south of Kukunor region (H. Matsuda in *Shigaku Zasshi*, XLVIII, p. 1393). Cf. G. Haloun, 'Zur Üe-Tsi Frage', *ZDMG*, 91 (NF, 16), p. 275 note 3. This A-lan or K'o-lan can have nothing to do with the Alans in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus.

²⁸ Sui-shu, Bk. 84, f. 5b. Pei-shih, Bk. 99, f. 6a. As for the identifications, see Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, I, p. 104; II, pp. 200-203, 646-662; Hirth, 'Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk', in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Neue Folge, St.-Petersburg 1897, pp. 37-40. The A-lan mentioned here may be identical with the people of the same name in the report of Zemarcus (cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, p. 212; Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, pp. 614-615, 645).

²⁹ The identification of these peoples is not yet well established. Cf. Hirth, 'Nachworte', p. 38; Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kieou occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 123 note.

³⁰ Radlov, *Versuch*, p. 1045a; S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnyurkskoi pis'mennosti*, Moskva i Leningrad 1951, p. 429a; Hirth, 'Nachworte', S. 38; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 123 note. Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, p. 653, agrees with Chavannes who looked upon Tê-i as identical with the Balkhash Lake.

The name of Soghdak or Sogdiana first appears in the Hou-han-shu, Bk. 118.³¹ It is transcribed *Li-i*, which is to be read *Su-i*, **Si^wok-iək* (**Si^wok-dək*) "Soghdak".³² The passage runs as follows: "The country of Li-i belongs to K'ang-chü. Excellent horses, cattle, grapes and many other kind of fruits are produced there. Among other things, the country is famous for wine because of (its) water of superior quality." The description could apply quite well to Sogdiana in Central Asia, which has been famous for its beautiful water, wine, and splendid horses from ancient times to the present. K'ang-chü is the present Kirghiz Steppe to the north of the Syr and must not be identified with Sogdiana. In the Chin-shu, Bk. 97, f. 4b, K'ang-chü is described as follows: "The country of K'ang-chü lies on the north-west of Ta-yüan (Ferghana) at a distance of about 2,000 li. It borders (upon) Su-i (Soghdak) and I-lieh (Ili). The king resides at the city of Su-hsieh.³³ Manners and customs, appearance and dress of the people are similar to those of the people of Ta-yüan. (The climate) is mild. The paulownia, the willow and grape are cultivated there in large quantities. Cattle and sheep are also numerous. Excellent horses are bred. In a year of T'ai-shih (265-274), Na-pi, the king, sent embassies (to the court of Chin) to present a memorial and excellent horses." It is clear from the statement that this information was obtained from the embassies of the king Na-pi and it is also quite certain that Su-i is identical with Li-i of the Hou-han-shu. The Chin-shu does not tell us the relation between K'ang-chü and Su-t'ê, but, as many of the products of K'ang-chü mentioned here are identical with those of Li-i (i.e. Su-i), of the Hou-han-shu, it seems probable that Su-i was still under the control of K'ang-chü in the sixties or seventies of the third century and that the products of Su-i were introduced into China as those of K'ang-chü. In the Wei-liao, Sogdiana is mentioned under the name Shu-yao, **Zi^wok-iəu*, together with Ta-hsia, Chien-sha and Yüeh-shih. According to Shiratori, Ta-hsia is identical with Tokharestan, Chien-sha with Keshsh, and Yüeh-shih with the Kushans.³⁴ If so, this Shu-yao can probably be counted as

³¹ Hou-han-shu, Bk. 118, f. 4a. Cf. Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyū*, I, p. 112; II, pp. 83-86 (*Memoirs of the R. D. of the Toyo Bunko*, II, pp. 95-97); Chavannes in *TP*, 1907, p. 195.

³² P. Pelliot in *TP*, XXXIV, 1938, p. 148 note 1.

³³ Su-hsieh was the capital of one of the Five Petty Kingdoms of K'ang-chü (Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 186; De Groot, *Urkunden*, II, p. 105). According to the Shih-chi, Bk. 123, f. 4a, it was situated to the east (probably to the north-east) of Ta-yüan (Ferghana). The T'ang-shu, Bk. 221b, f. 2a, identifies Su-hsieh with Shih or the present Shahr-i-Sabz for a reason unknown to us (Iakinf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 316; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 146). But, Su-hsieh of the Chin-shu was probably identical with Su-hsieh during the Han.

³⁴ Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 77, 114; Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyū*, II,

among the countries in Central Asia. Thus, from the Later Han up to the time of Chin or from the first century of our era to the latter half of the third, Soghdak had been regarded as a country in Central Asia and there is no indication to show that it was a country in Crimea, which was to the west of Yen-ts'ai.

In the fifth and sixth centuries Sogdiana was known to the Chinese as Su-t'ê, **Si'ok-d'ak*, which is also a name for Soghdak. Embassies were sent several times from Su-t'ê to the courts of Wei, Sung and Chou. Five embassies to Wei from 435 to 479, one to Sung in 441 and another to Chou in 564.³⁵ In the Sung-shu, or History of the Sung, Bk. 95,³⁶ it is stated that there was a country named Su-t'ê ten thousand li beyond (i.e. to the west of) the Moving Sand; embassies came (to the court of Sung) in the reign of T'ai-tsu (424-453) to present a memorial and tributes; and Su-t'ê also sent embassies during the reign of Ta-ming (457-464) to make presents of lions, asbestos and blood-sweating steeds which they had stolen on their way to China. Here the distance of ten thousand li merely indicates that the country was far away from China and it does not necessarily mean that one must look for this Su-t'ê in Crimea. The fact that the embassies of Su-t'ê took with them lions as tributes clearly shows that their country was in Sogdiana in Central Asia and not in Crimea.³⁷ Sogdiana in Central Asia was very famous for lions. If Su-t'ê of the Sung-shu Bk. 95 is to be identified with Sogdiana

pp. 89-91 (*Memoirs of the Research Depart. of the Tôyô Bunko*, II, p. 99). The same reference is made in the Shan-hai-ching, Bk. b, f. 52b, ed. Ssü-pu-ts'ung-k'an, with some variants of characters, such as Shu-sha for Chien-sha and Chü-yao for Shu-yao. Cf. G. Haloun, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer*, I, Leipzig 1926, pp. 146-147. The Wei-liao has also another statement concerning Chi-pin (Gandhâra), Ta-hsia (Tokharestan), Kao-fu (Kabul), and T'ien-chu (India), and Ta-yüeh-shih (the Kushans), which seems to have been taken from another source. It is probable that the passage corresponding to that of the Shan-hai-ching was written by an earlier author. As for the identification of these countries, see also T. Ogawa, 'Kitashina Senshin Banzokukô (Researches on the barbarians in North China in Pre-Ch'in periods)', *Naitô Hakushi Kanrekikinen Shinagaku Ronsô*, Kyoto 1926, pp. 272 ff. (*Shina Rekishichiri Kenkyû*, II, Kyoto 1929, pp. 108 ff.).

³⁵ Wei-shu, Bk. 4a, f. 5a, 6a; Bk. 4b, f. 2a; Bk. 5, f. 2a; Bk. 6, f. 1b; Bk. 7a, f. 2a, 4-. Sung-shu, Bk. 5, f. 4b. Chou-shu, Bk. 5, f. 2b.

³⁶ Sung-shu, Bk. 95, f. 10b. This passage has not yet been referred to by Hirth, Shiratori, and others.

³⁷ According to the T'ang-shu, Bk. 95, f. 10 b. (Iakin, *op. cit.*, II, p. 311; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 135; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I, p. 149 note 399), Samarkand presented lions to the Emperor T'ai-tsung and Yü Shih-nan composed a long poem in celebration of their arrival (Ch'üan-t'ang-wên, Bk. 138, f. 1b-2b). At the end of the period of Chêng-kuang (520-525), the Hephthalites presented lions to the court of Wei (Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 5b). These lions may have been from Samarkand or its adjacent regions. During the Ming, Herat and Samarkand were famous for lions

in Central Asia, the other Su-t'ê in the annals of Wei, Sung, and Chou can, as a matter of course, be regarded as Sogdiana in Central Asia. It is quite natural that Sogdians, who had been very well known for their international trading activities,³⁸ should have had intercourse with China from ancient times. Sughdak (Sudak or Soldaïa) in Crimea was in the Middle Ages an important Genoese entrepôt, but it is not certain that it had already been such an important commercial centre as to have had direct connections with China in or even before the fifth century.³⁹

That Su-t'ê of the Wei-shu was identical with Sogdiana in Central Asia is proved by the analysis of the chapter on Western Regions of the Wei-shu. As I have remarked above, the present text of the Wei-shu is an adaptation of the corresponding chapter of the Pei-shih, but, the chapter of the Pei-shih being itself composite of Wei-shu, Chou-shu, and Sui-shu, it is not difficult to reconstruct the original form of the Wei-shu. If we read carefully the description of the Wei-shu, we can see that the original chapter of the Wei-shu was composed of three kinds of material. The first is the report of the mission sent to Western Regions in 437 under the leadership of Tung Yüan and Kao Ming. The second is the information obtained on various occasions, such as the arrivals of embassies from Western countries, or that based on the documents of the Governments of Wei concerning the conquering and ruling countries in Central Asia.⁴⁰ The third one is the account of a journey of Hui-

which were caught in the bush on the Amu. They presented lions to the court of Ming (Ming-i-t'ung-chih, Bk. 89 under Samarkand and Herat; Si-yü-fan-kuo-chih by Ch'ên Ch'êng, f. 11b, ed. Pei-p'ing-t'u-shü-kuan shan-pên-ts'ung-shu; Chi-shui-hsien-chih, Bk. 60, f. 1a ff., Shih-tzû-fu by Li Ssü-mien in Huang-ming-wên-yüan, Bk. 3; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, pp. 265, 266, 270).

³⁸ We must notice that no small number of Soghdians were living in Tun-huang and Liang-chou regions at the beginning of the fourth century. Cf. H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, II, Heidelberg 1931; W. B. Henning, 'The date of the Soghdian letters', *BSAOS*, XII, pp. 601 ff.

³⁹ The name of Sugdaea, Sudak, does not occur before Procopius (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, p. 19). Procopius was born at the end of the fourth or at the beginning of the fifth century and died in some year after 563 (G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, Budapest 1942, p. 302). But the earliest mention of this city as an important international commercial centre dates from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (W. W. Rockhill, *The journey of William Rubruck*, London 1900, p. 43 n. 2; W. Heyd, *Historie du commerce dans le Levant au moyen-âge*, 2e ed., I, Leipzig 1923, pp. 297 ff.; G. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1929, pp. 39, 212-215, etc.; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, p. 392 etc.; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I, p. 295; II, p. 84).

⁴⁰ Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 1a, says; "we have recorded the name of any country, from which embassies came (to the court of Wei), even if it is not registered in the report of (T'ung) Yüan, but we could not give a full description of its manners and costumes."

shêng, who travelled in Central Asia and India in the first half of the sixth century.⁴¹ Of these three, the first was the most important and was used as a basis on which to edit the chapter. The report of the mission of 437 dealt with sixteen countries which were divided into four sections. The Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 1b, says the following:

"When (Tung) Yüan and others came back to the capital (of the Wei) from their mission, they reported in detail what they had actually seen on their way and what they had heard about neighbouring countries. Their report ran as follows: Western Regions had been divided into more than fifty countries during and after the reign of the Emperor Wu of the (Former) Han,⁴² but they had been amalgamated into sixteen by the period of Ta-yüan (i.e. 437). These (sixteen) countries are divided into four sections. The first section is to the east of Ts'ung-ling (Pamir) and to the west of the Moving Sand. The second one is to the west of Ts'ung-ling and to the east of Hai-ch'ü or Sea Bend. The third one is to the south of Chê-shê (Tashkend) and to the north of Yüeh-shih (Balkh). The fourth one is between two seas and to the south of Shui-tsê or Water Swamp. In these four sections there are small chiefs whose number probably amounts to a hundred."

If we carefully compare this statement with the contents of the Wei-shu, it is quite obvious that the countries described in the Wei-shu are arranged according to the order of these four sections. The editor of the Wei-shu has inserted many countries among these sixteen which had not been included in the report of the mission of 437, and has added at the end of the chapter an extract from the journal of Hui-shêng. Thus was the chapter on Western Regions of the Wei-shu composed.

Now the first section of these four corresponds to the present Chinese

⁴¹ Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 5b, says: "During the period of Hsi-p'ing (516-518), Su-tsung sent Wang-fu, Tzù-t'ung, Sung-yün, śramaṇa Fa-li and others to Western Regions to look for Buddhist canons. At that time, there was a Hui-shêng, a śramaṇa, who accompanied them and came back during the period of Chêng-kuang (520-525). As for the countries which Hui-shêng visited, we are not informed in detail of the affairs of state, of their mountains and rivers, and of their distance (from China). And so here we shall make a brief description." Pei-shi, Bk. 97, f. 7a, gives Shêng-fu instead of Wang-fu. Thus the Wei-shu describes Chu-chü (Kargarak), K'o-p'an-t'o (Tashkurgan), Po-ho, Po-chih, and four other countries including Udjâna and Gandhâra, based on the account of a journey of Hui-shêng. Cf. Pei-wei-sêng Hui-shêng shih-si-yü-chi in Tripiṭaka Taishô, LI, pp. 866 ff.; E. Chavannes, 'Voyage de Song Yun, etc.', BEFEO, III, p. 379 ff. Hui-shêng's account is registered in the Sui-shu, Bk. 33, f. 7a, as Hui-shêng hsing-chuan.

⁴² For the number of countries of Western Regions, see A. Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, Berlin 1910, p. 56 and S. Ise, 'Seiki Sanjûrokkoku ni tsuite (The so-called thirty six countries of the Western Regions)', in *Tôyôshigaku Ronshû*, III, Tokyo 1954, pp. 41-52.

Turkestan and its adjacent territories.⁴³ In the present Wei-shu, twenty-two countries beginning with Shan-shan and ending with Lo-na (Ferghana) are described before Su-t'ê, which is, as I shall explain in a moment, in the second division. Of these twenty-two countries, ten were in the original report of Tung Yüan and the rest were added by the editor of the Wei-shu. These ten countries are Shan-shan, Hsi-chü-pan (Karghalik), Ch'ê-shih (Yarkhoto to the north-east of Turfan), Ch'ieh-mi, Yen-ch'i (Karashar), Kuei-tzū (Kucha), Wu-sun, Su-lê (Kashgar), Yüeh-pan, and Lo-na (Ferghana).⁴⁴ And, in addition to these, there ought to have been a mention of K'o-p'an-t'o (Tashkurgan) in the report, but the editor has left it out probably for the reason that a country of the same name was described in the journal of Hui-shêng, which makes the ending part of the chapter on Western Regions, of the Wei-shu.⁴⁵ As for the other twelve countries which seem to have been inserted among these ten countries in the first section, the arrangement is not correctly made and some of them should have been included in other sections.

The second section covers the area between the western border of the Pamirs and the Sea Bend of Hai-ch'ü. Hai-ch'ü was situated to the east of Ta-ch'in and has been identified with the eastern and northern coasts

⁴³ Here the Moving Sand means the desert between Tun-huang and the northern bank of Lopnor.

⁴⁴ Among these ten countries, nine, excluding Ch'ieh-mi, sent embassies to Wei in the third month of the third year of T'ai-yüan (437) and Tung Yüan and Kao Ming were dispatched in return to them (Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 1a, Bk. 4a, f. 5b; P. Pelliot in *JA*, 1934, p. 41). Ch'ieh-mi may have been among the countries described in the report for the reason that the distance from Tai to Ch'ieh-mi (10,570 li) is a total of 8,670 li (from Ch'ang-an to Si-ch'ieh-mi or Western Ch'ieh-mi, Han-shu, Bk. 96b, 4b) and 1,900 li (from Tai to Ch'ang-an). This is one of the ways by which Tung Yüan and Kao Ming fixed the distance between Tai and some western countries. Cf. H. Matsuda, 'Gisho Seiikiden no hihan to Eppankoku no hô', *Taishô Daigaku Gakuhô*, X, pp. 33-34. In the Wei-shu (Bk. 102, f. 2b), Ch'ieh-mi is located to the north of Ch'ê-shih (Yarkhoto) and in the valley of Yü-ta which was situated to the east of T'ien-shan, the present Bogdo Ola. Here the Wei-shu is copying the Han-shu. But, this does not necessarily mean that Ch'ieh-mi or a country of similar name did not really exist under the Wei. In my opinion, Ch'ieh-mi is identical with Chê-i or Chou-i, which sent embassies to Wei in 439, 444, and 479 (Wei-shu, Bk. 4a, f. 5b; Bk. 4b, f. 3a; Bk. 7a, f. 4a). As for the location of Ch'ieh-mi under the Han, see map appended to A. Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen*.

⁴⁵ K'o-p'an-t'o sent embassies to Wei in 437 and 439 (Wei-shu, Bk. 4a, f. 5b, 6a) and it is also one of the nine countries to which Tung Yüan and Kao Ming were dispatched. And so this country must have been described in the report of their mission. But the editor of the Wei-shu has left it out, for the reason that Hui-shêng made a statement about this country in his journal, which the editor of the Wei-shu has incorporated in the Wei-shu (Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 5b). However, the editor, who could not identify Hsi-chü-pan in the report of Tung Yüan with Chu-chü in the journal of Hui-shêng, describes these two countries in the Wei-shu. Cf. note 41.

of the Mediterranean Sea and their adjoining territories.⁴⁶ If we notice that Su-t'ê is described as situated to the west of Ts'ung-ling (Pamir), we can establish as a fact that Su-t'ê was included in the second section. In the present text of the Wei-shu, eleven countries are included between Su-t'ê and Chê-shê, with which the third section begins, but it is probably only Su-t'ê that was originally included in the second section of the report.⁴⁷

The third section covers the area between Yüeh-shih (Balkh or the present northern Afghanistan) and Chê-shê (Tashkend). In the present Wei-shu five countries are inserted between these two, and An-hsi is added after Ta-yüeh-shih i.e. Yüeh-shih. An-hsi is placed between Ta-yüeh-shih and Ta-ch'in, which was in the fourth section as I shall show in a moment, probably because of a connection with Ta-ch'in which was supposed to lie to the west of An-hsi. According to my theory, Yüeh-shih and Chê-shê were the only countries included in this section in the report.⁴⁸

The fourth section corresponds to Ta-ch'in of the present text, which is described as situated between two seas.⁴⁹ The identification of this Ta-ch'in is very complicated, but I am of the opinion that it can be taken to mean the present Italian peninsular.⁵⁰ The two seas may mean the Mediterranean Sea to the east and to the west of the Italian peninsular. Shui-tsê may be identical with the extensive swamp on which Yen-ts'ai was situated. As I have noted above, the Chinese did not understand the distinction between the Aral and the Caspian Sea. They thought that the Aral Sea, or the Aral Sea combined with the Caspian and the Black Seas, extended northward, as well as westward, without end and that it was connected with Pei-hai (North Sea) or the Arctic Ocean. It is not easy to understand the idea of the editor of the report of the mission of 437 as regards the relation between Shui-tsê and the two seas, but it may be that Shui-tsê and the two seas were supposed to have been separated by

⁴⁶ Concerning Hai-ch'ü, Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 48-51, and Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, pp. 472 ff., offer views differing from mine.

⁴⁷ As for the other countries, there is no evidence to suggest that they were recorded in the report of Tung Yüan.

⁴⁸ Chê-shê and Yüeh-shih are mentioned as situated at the northern and southern ends of the third division, but there is nothing to suggest that any other country had been included in this third division.

⁴⁹ Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 5a. Cf. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 49, 103.

⁵⁰ I do not want to trouble readers by criticizing various views regarding itineraries to Ta-ch'in. As is described in the Wei-shu, Bk. 102, f. 4b-5a, Ta-ch'in lay ten thousand li west of Hai-ch'ü, bordered on both sides by the sea, and one could also get there by travelling along Hai-ch'ü. It may be the most plausible to identify Ta-ch'in of the Wei-shu with the Western Roman Empire of the Italian Peninsular. Compare the different view of Shiratori, *Seiikishi Kenkyû*, II, pp. 471-477, 534-548.

Hai-ch'ü and its adjoining territories, extending westward as far as Ta-ch'in. This is why I believe that the fourth section corresponds to Ta-ch'in.

If we identify Su-t'ê with Sogdiana in Central Asia, we can understand quite well the geographical divisions made by the editor of the report of the mission of 437. Sogdiana in Central Asia lies at the western end of mountainous regions stretching westward from the Pamirs, while Chê-shê (Tashkend) and Yüeh-shih (Balkh) are located at the northern and southern sides respectively of the same block. So the territory between Chê-shê and Yüeh-shih can form one geographical division and that between Su-t'ê and Hai-ch'ü another. But, if we identify Su-t'ê with Soghdiana in Crimea, Ts'ung-ling must be considered as being the Ural or the Caucasus mountains, neither of which have ever been called Ts'ung-ling in Chinese records, and the second division would then make a part of the fourth.

It is quite clear that Tung Yüan and Kao Ming, who must have been the editors of the report of their mission of 437, knew that the water-swamp (shui-tsê) existed north of Ta-ch'in. According to them, the water-swamp belonged to the fourth section, the most westernly of the four. Then why was the water-swamp supposed to extend westward or northward? The statement of the Wei-shu about Su-t'ê will give us the answer. The Wei-shu identifies Su-t'ê with Yen-ts'ai, which was on a large swamp, and this means that Tung Yüan and Kao Ming thought that the swamp extended from Su-t'ê. It may be that they did not know where the swamp stretched from, but it was necessary for them to define it; they read in the Han-shu that Yen-ts'ai was situated on a large swamp which was endless and might be identical with Pei-hai or the Arctic Ocean; they identified this swamp (ta-tsê) with the water-swamp (shui-tsê) to the north of Ta-ch'in; they knew that Yen-ts'ai was in existence during the Han and they had to find some country which bore a similar name; they discovered that Su-t'ê was also called Wên-na-sha, which bore some resemblance to Yen-ts'ai; and thus they assumed that Su-t'ê was what had been known as Yen-ts'ai, as well as that the water-swamp extended from Su-t'ê. Both Tung Yüan and Kao Ming may never have visited Su-t'ê and they had no grounds for believing that Yen-ts'ai under the Han had nothing to do with Su-t'ê in the fifth century.

Taking all these facts into consideration, I am of the opinion that the identification of Su-t'ê with Yen-ts'ai was made by Tung Yüan and Kao Ming who published it in the report of their mission of 437. This view will be supported by the statement of the Shih-san-chou-chih of K'an In, native of Tun-huang, who took service at Liang-chou with Ch'ieh-ch'ü Mêng-sun and Ch'ieh-ch'ü Mu-chien and, after 439 when the Ch'ieh-ch'ü

family surrendered to the Wei, acted as secretary to T'o-pa P'ei, the new governor of Liang-chou, and died in poverty at Tai, the capital of Wei.⁵¹ It is not known exactly when he completed the Shih-san-chou-chih, but it is certain that he died in the middle or in the latter half of the fifth century. The Shih-san-chou-chih has long been lost and only fragments of it remain in other works. In the T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi, Bk. 186, Lo Shih cites a passage of this book, which says that "Yen-ts'ai and Su-t'ê had each of them a chief master".⁵² Lo Shih, discussing this passage, criticizes the Wei-shu which identified Su-t'ê with Yen-ts'ai. Why does K'an In insist that Yen-ts'ai and Su-t'ê were countries independent of each other? It seems to me very likely that he is criticizing the report of the mission of 437, which identified Su-t'ê with Yen-ts'ai. In his day printing was not yet invented and books existed in manuscript form. So, even if he had finished the Shih-san-chou-chih in his early days, he could have made any addition he wished before his death. In any case, K'an In's statement shows that the identity of Su-t'ê and Yen-ts'ai was not an established fact in the fifth century.

As I have remarked above, I am of the opinion that Su-t'ê was identified with Yen-ts'ai on account of the similarity of their names. According to the Sui-shu, Bk. 83, f. 3a, the royal family of K'ang (Sogdiana) had a surname Wên. It says that the family of their king was originally named Wên and was of Yüeh-shih origin; formerly they lived at the city of Chao-wu to the north of Ch'i-lien-shan, but after having been defeated by the Hsiung-nu they moved westward and crossed Ts'ung-ling (the Pamirs) to occupy their present country (Sogdiana); several branches of their family ruled various parts (of Sogdiana) and thus (as rulers of) countries in the neighbourhood of K'ang (Sogdiana), bore the family name of Chao-wu, which was to show that they (rulers) did not forget their origin. Ch'i-lien-shan is the present Nan-shan in Kan-su province

⁵¹ See his biography in the Wei-shu, Bk. 52, and Pei-shih, Bk. 34. Collection of fragments of the Shih-san-chou-chih, edited by Chang Shu, is published in the Erh-yu-t'ang ts'ung-shu and so on (cf. *Tôhōbunka Kenkyūsho Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku*, p. 215).

⁵² According to Chang Shu (Collection of fragments of the Shih-san-chou-chih, ed. Chih-fu-chai-ts'ung-shu, f. 3a), K'an In says that "Yen-ts'ai and Su-t'ê had each of them a chief master and it is wrong that Wei Shou (editor of the Wei-shu) has identified the one with the other." Chang Shu notes that this is taken from the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan. I cannot find this passage in the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan (cf. *Index to T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, No. 23, 1935), but in the T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chih. Moreover, K'an In died in the middle or at the beginning of the latter half of the fifth century and Wei Shou completed his work in 544. So it is impossible for K'an In to criticize Wei Shou's view. I think that Chang Shu is confusing the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan with T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi and has not been careful enough to distinguish the passage of the Shih-san-chou-chi from the statement of Lo Shih.

and Chao-wu was a *hsien* (district) under the Former and Later Han to the north of this mountain range. It is true that this region had previously been occupied by the Yüeh-shih,⁵³ but there is no other evidence to prove such a migration of the royal family from Kan-su to Sogdiana. The story of migration as is told in the Sui-shu must be an invention to connect the name of the family with that of the district. The T'ung-tien, Bk. 193, Chiu-t'ang-shu or the Old History of T'ang, Bk. 198, and the Shin-t'ang-shu or the New History of T'ang, Bk. 221 b, copying the Sui-shu, tell us the same story, but the latter two have changed Hsiung-nu to T'u-chüeh.⁵⁴ Apart from the story of migration, it is true that the royal family of Sogdiana in the sixth and seventh centuries bore the surname of Chao-wu and that they were originally named Wên. Unfortunately, the relation between the two names of Wên and Chao-wu is not clearly told. It can either be that one and the same family changed its name from Wên to Chao-wu or that the Wên family was replaced by the Chao-wu family.⁵⁵ In either case, the family name Wên may be identical with Wên of Wên-na-sha, which has phonologically nothing to do with Soghdak, Sûli or any other similar appellations of Sogdiana. Wên-na-sha must therefore be a designation given to the country in relation to the Hsiung-nu conquest of Sogdiana. The identity of Su-t'ê of the Wei-shu with Sogdiana in Central Asia will also be confirmed by the similarity of these two names. *Wên*, **Uən*, or *Wên-na*, **Uən-nâ*, can well be a transcription of Оўннх Оўннol and so on. I shall discuss this point in detail later.

Moreover, it is impossible to identify Su-t'ê with Soghdak in Crimea from the history of the Huns. As is well known, the conquest of the Alans by the Huns was made at a date and under circumstances which have not been recorded and it seems to have been soon after the year 370 that the Huns, accompanied by contingents of their Alan subjects, began their invasion of the rich country of the Ostrogothic kingdom.⁵⁶ This conquest of the Alans may be compared with that of Su-t'ê or, more strictly speaking, Yen-ts'ai by the Hsiung-nu, as is proposed by Hirth. However, this does not coincide with the statement of the Wei-shu, which says that king Hu-i belonged to the third generation to reign after the conquest.

The first Hun whom we know by name was Uldis who invaded Roman territory from 400 to 408. After 408 Uldis is never heard of

⁵³ K. Shiratori, 'Über den Wu-sun-Stamm in Centralasien', *Keleti Szemle*, III, S. 106ff.

⁵⁴ See E. G. Pulleyblank, 'A Sogdian colony in Inner Mongolia', *TP*, XLI, pp. 320-322

⁵⁵ I take the latter view, as will be explained later.

⁵⁶ E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns*, Oxford 1948, p. 22.

again. According to Thompson, the disappearance of Uldis is a sign of the democratic character of primitive kingship, and the kingship seems to have become a permanent institution among at least one body of Huns by the year 412, when Olympiodorus visited them to discover that, as soon as Donatus had been murdered, Charato was immediately appointed to fill his place. After Charato, there were leaders of the Huns named Basich and Cursich, who invaded Persia about the period 415-420 or a little later. We have no evidence to show that there existed one single, continuously growing confederacy of which Uldis, Donatus and the others were successive military leaders. A Hun empire, if there was any, consisted of confederacies of various independent tribes, at times united into alliances. So these military leaders may have been chiefs of some group or groups of the Huns, but it is very unlikely that they were the leaders of the whole of the Huns and their subject nations. In the later twenties of the fifth century a certain Rua obtained the military leadership of the last and greatest of the Hun confederacies. He was not its only leader, but shared his position with his brothers Mundiuch and Octar, each of whom probably ruled over a specific portion of the Huns. We have no information as to the father or forebears of Rua, Mundiuch, and Octar. Octar and Mundiuch died some years before Rua, who was the sole military leader of the confederacy in the year 432. Rua died in 434 and was succeeded by his two nephews, of whom the elder was named Bleda and the younger Attila. In 445 Attila murdered Bleda and from that year to his death in 453 Attila had no rival among the Huns. After the death of Attila his sons divided up the subject nations equally among them, but not many months after their father's death they began to quarrel. Thus the way was prepared for a rebellion of their subject nations. Probably in 455, the Huns and their allies suffered a severe defeat in a great conflict at the unknown river Nedao in Pannonia with the rebellious Germanic army under Ardaric. The victory was as complete as it was unexpected. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, was killed in the battle and his surviving brothers with the remnants of their followers fled across the Carpathians to the shores of the Black Sea.⁵⁷ It may have been on this occasion that Ernac, the youngest son of Attila, moved temporarily to the outlying parts of Scythia Minor, which Hirth, following to Strabo,⁵⁸ identified with Crimea. It has been plausibly suggested

⁵⁷ I owe the above description concerning the Huns to E. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 59, 30-31, 60, 63, 72-73, 88-89, 152, 153.

⁵⁸ Hirth, 'Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu', *JAOS*, XXX, p. 49. Thierry gives no identification (*Histoire d'Attila*, 1, Paris, 1864, pp. 249-250). Cf. Homeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

that Ernac died an obscure mercenary in the service of the Eastern Empire.⁵⁹

If Hu-i was the king of Su-t'ê in the year 437 and was the king of the Huns, he can be identified either with Bleda or Attila, but not with Ernac. If Hu-i was the king who asked in 457 for the ransom of Su-t'ê merchants captured by the Wei, he may be identified with Ernac. However, either way it is impossible for the conquest of the Alans by the Huns to have been made in the generation of the direct or second predecessor of Rua, both of whom can not have reigned before 370. There is also no evidence to show that Soghdak in Crimea had been a capital of the Hunnish state or the residence of forebears of Ernac after their conquest of the Alans.

It is no longer possible to look upon the Wei-shu account as uncontested proof of the identity of the Huns and Hsiung-nu. It was Tung Yüan and Kao Ming who identified Su-t'ê of their time with Yen-ts'ai during the Han. The identification, however, was made partly on the very doubtful basis of the resemblance between Yen-ts'ai and Wên-na-sha, another name for Su-t'ê, and partly on account of the necessity of identifying the place from which the water-swamp (shui-tsê) stretched northward as well as westward. Moreover the history of the Huns themselves does not agree with the Wei-shu account. The identity of the Huns with the Hsiung-nu, if they ever were identical, must be proved on some more positive basis than that of the Wei-shu.

Thus the information given by the Wei-shu in connection with Su-t'ê consists of two parts. One is the statement of Su-t'ê during the Wei and the other is that concerning Yen-ts'ai under the Han. The information actually acquired during the Wei is as follows:

1. Su-t'ê was situated to the west of Ts'ung-ling.
2. Su-t'ê was also called Wên-na-sha.
3. The Hsiung-nu killed the king of Su-t'ê in order to occupy the country and the (Hsiung-nu) king Hu-i formed the third ruler of the line.
4. Merchants of Su-t'ê who had been accustomed to come to Liang-chou to trade were captured by the Wei in 439, and during the reign of Kao-tsung (452-465) the king of Su-t'ê sent embassies to Wei to ask for their ransom.

5. After that, no embassies came to Wei.

Of these five points, the first and the second were obviously obtained by Tung Yüan and Kao Ming in 437, but the fourth and fifth have

⁵⁹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

nothing to do with them. The third is also attributed to Tung Yüan and Kao Ming.⁶⁰ And, seeing that several embassies came to Wei from Su-t'ê after 457, when, it seems, the king of Su-t'ê asked for the ransom, it is quite untrue that no embassy came to Wei after Kao-tsung.

Then who were the Hsiung-nu who invaded Sogdiana? I shall discuss this in detail in the following chapter.

Corrigenda: p. 45, note 13: Mr. C. A. Macartney kindly sent me an off-print of his article. 'The end of the Huns', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, X, 1934, pp. 106-114. There he is not dealing with the impossibility of the Hsiung-nu-Huns identity, but trying to prove that after the death of Attila the Huns did not return east.

⁶⁰ It is obvious that Tung Yüan heard the name of Wên-na-sha which he identified with Yen-ts'ai. Wên-na-sha may mean, as I shall discuss in the second part of this article, king of the *Un or *Unna or Huns. This will show that he also heard of the Hsiung-nu (*Un or *Unna) conquest of Sogdiana.

MONGOLISCHE MISZELLEN

Von

PAVEL POUCHA

Praha

I

REDUPLIKATION, ALLITERATION, FIGURA ETYMOLOGICA, VOLKSETYMOLOGIE UND ALTMONGOLISCHE STAMMES- NAMEN IN DER GEHEIMEN GESCHICHTE DER MONGOLEN

Das Hauptmerkmal der mongolischen Poesie ist die Anwendung der Alliteration und Assonanz im Verse.¹ Das zeigt sich an der Poesie der Mongolen seit den ältesten Zeiten. Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen – Monggol-un niguča tobčijan² – bringt in ihren gereimten Partien³ die ältesten Beispiele solcher altmongolischer Poesie, wenn diese auch in mittelmongolischer Sprachform verfasst sind.

Aber nicht nur die Poesie ist durch den Gebrauch der Alliteration – diese ist neben dem poetisch gehobenen Gedanken das einzige bisher bekannte Merkmal dessen, dass es sich im prosaischen Texte um ein poetisches Stück handelt⁴ – gekennzeichnet, sondern auch die *Prosa*.

¹ Vgl. B. Laufer, 'Skizze der mongolischen Literatur', *Revue Orientale*, 1907, S. 241.

² Weiter nur MNT.

³ Diese sind als solche in der Ausgabe von E. Haenisch, *Manghol-un niuca tobca'an*, Leipzig 1937, überhaupt nicht gekennzeichnet; in der Ausgabe P. Pelliot's, *Oeuvres posthumes*, I, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Paris 1949, nur durch fette Buchstaben im Text, in der Ausgabe S. A. Kozins, *Sokrovennoe skazanie*, I, Moskau-Leningrad 1941, sowohl in der Textausgabe als auch in der russischen Übersetzung und auch in den Parallelstellen des *Altan tobči nova* als Verse gedruckt.

⁴ Wie es im Mongolischen Anfänge einer Unterscheidung von grammatischem Genus durch grammatische Mittel gibt, die in der neuen Sprache nur noch in Resten (Feminina von den die Farbe der weiblichen Tiere bezeichnenden Adjektiven) vorhanden sind, so wird es auch Ansätze eines Reimes gegeben haben, wie die Reimwortbildung zeigt. Aus MNT habe ich mir nur die Beispiele *numu sumu* „Bogen und Pfeil“, *ubur subur* (so Pelliot, *a.a.O.*, S. 20, Haenisch, *a.a.O.*, S. 15, aber im *Wtb.*, S. 157, *ubursubur*, Kozin, *a.a.O.*, S. 217, *ubur-subur*, *Altan tobči* bei Kozin hat *ubur-subur* neben der Variante *ulam-sulam*) „nacheinander“, beide MNT 91 notiert. Was anderswo als Reim aussieht, ist nur gelegentlicher Gleichlaut von Endungen oder gleichen Wörtern. Ursprüngliches *naran – sara* „Sonne und Mond“ werden später zu *nara – sara* ausgeglichen.

Die ältesten Beispiele solcher prosaisch gebrauchten Alliteration findet man ebenfalls in MNT.

Bevor wir uns aber mit der Alliteration in MNT befassen, möge noch die Feststellung gemacht werden, dass die Alliteration am engsten mit der Wortdoppelung zusammenhängt und somit nur einen besonderen Fall dieser in den altaischen Sprachen allgemein vorkommenden Spracher-scheinung bildet.⁵

Man muss also diesen Aufsatz mit einer Übersicht der Beispiele für die *Wortdoppelung* (Reduplikation) in MNT anfangen. Es kommen da folgende Wortdoppelungen vor:⁶ 1) *ayımaq ayımaq* (156) „nach Volksstämmen (jeder Volksstamm gesondert aufgestellt)“, vgl. noch *ayımaq ayımaq-ıyar-ıyan* (156); 2) *ulam ulam* (187) „in steter Folge immer weiter“, von *ulam* „wenden, wechseln“; 3) *balaqat balaqat-tur* (263) „für die einzelnen Städte“, vgl. noch *balaqat balaqat-dur-ıyan* (248); 4) *yäsün yäsüt* „je neun“ (267); 5) *jüyil-ä jüyil-ä* (170) „jeder seines Weges, Strecke für Strecke“; 6) *jük jük* (154, 186, 229, 272) „allerorts“; 7) *käşik käşik* (229) „einzelne Wachabteilungen“; 8) *mün mün* (34, 82, 83, 229) „jeder an seinem Posten“; 9) *mör mör-dur-ıyan* (278) „jeder in seinem Amt“; 10) *qotat qotat-tur* (248), vgl. *qotot qotot* (247) „einzelne Städte“; 11) *qaqas qaqas* (233) „einmal hier, einmal dort“; 12) *qarı qarı* (213) „die einzelnen Stämme“; 13) *qaqça qaqça* (22) „jeder allein“; 14) *quta'ar quta'ar* (227) „an jedem dritten“; 15) *şimin şimin* (145, 214) „unter ständigem Saugen“. Wie die inhaltliche Seite dieser Beispiele zeigt, handelt es sich bei solchen Wortdoppelungen nicht nur um *distributiven* Gebrauch (Beispiele 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), sondern auch um den Gebrauch solcher Reduplikation als *Steigerungsmittel* (Beispiele 2, 6, 15). Formal ist solche Wortdoppelung auch zur Alliteration zu zählen.

Als *prosaisch gebrauchte Alliteration* sind mir in MNT die folgenden Beispiele ins Auge gefallen, die sich folgendermassen einteilen lassen:

⁵ Über Reduplikation im Altaischen handelt G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, II, *Formenlehre*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto, Helsinki 1952, S. 249 f., § 130; „dieser Reduplikationstrieb, womit im Mongolischen und Türkischen eine Art Steigerung gebildet wird, ist im Tungusischen und Koreanischen nicht aufgezeichnet“ (*ib.*, S. 250). Weiter N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden 1954, S. 111 f., §§ 400–403. Derselbe, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1951, S. 45, § 72. Zum Türkischen vgl. J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris 1921, S. 317, § 503. Obwohl Ramstedt anderer Meinung ist (s. oben), kommt doch die Reduplikation auch im Mandschuischen vor, vgl. S. De Harlez, *Manuel de la langue mandchoue, Grammaire*, Paris 1884, S. 70 f., § 161 f., wenigstens onomatopoetisch, vgl. auch I. Zacharov, *Grammatika man'čžurskogo jazyka*, Sanktpetersburg 1879, S. 314 ff., § 226 ff., ebenso wie im Ewenischen (Lamutischen), vgl. V. I. Cincius – L. D. Rišes, *Russko-ewenskij slovar'*, Moskau 1952, S. 768.

⁶ Die Umschrift des Textes des MNT nach P. Pelliot'scher Ausgabe.

(A) Namen von Familienmitgliedern: 1) Namen der Söhne *Alan-qoʻas* (19): *Bälgünütai*, *Bügünütai*, *Buqu-Qatagi*, *Buqatu-Saljı*, *Bodončarmungqaq*; 2) der Söhne des *Mänän-tudun* (45): *Qačı-külük*, *Qačın*, *Qačıʻu*, *Qačula*, *Qaraldaı*, *Qačıʻun* mit Ausnahme des siebenten (*Načın-baʻatur*); 3) der Söhne des *Qabul-qahan* (48): *Qutuqtu-münggür*, *Qutula-qahan*, *Qulan*, *Qadaʻan* mit Ausnahme der drei übrigen (*Ökin-barqaq*, *Bartanbaʻatur*, *Tödöʻän-otčıgın*).

(B) Einzelfall scheint die Stelle 52 zu sein: *qamuq Monggol-i Qabul-qahan* „Qabul-qahan (König) aller Mongolen“.

(C) Die übrigen alliterierenden prosaischen Stellen lassen sich einteilen je nach dem, ob es sich um vokalische oder konsonantische Alliteration handelt. Die erste ist weniger häufig, die andere gewöhnlich. Von den konsonantisch alliterierenden Stellen sind am häufigsten solche, die mit einem *q-* anlauten.

(a) *Vokale Alliteration*: 1) *nıruʻu ınu ququru qarbuju alaʻat aduʻu-ban abuʻat iräjüʻü* (128) „Taičars Rückgrat entzweigeschossen habend hat er ihn getötet und seine Pferdeherde erbeutet habend kehrte er heim“; 2) *äbügäs äčigäs* (133, 136, 154) „Ahnenn und Väter“; 3) *itägämji Itürgän-i iläyü käʻän iläldüjüʻüi* (184) „den zuverlässigen Itürgän will ich schicken“, sagte er und sandte diesen mit ihnen zurück“; 4) *oyın-tur-ıyan oroʻulba* (66) „in sein Herz liess er sie eintreten“; 5) *ötögäs öljätän nökat minü* (125) „meine alten glückbringenden Gefährten“; 6) *uruq-un uruq-a gürtälä* (sehr oft) „bis auf die spätesten Nachkommen“, eig. „bis zu den Nachkommen der Nachkommen“.

(b) *Konsonantische Alliteration*: 1) *tädä haran baruʻan boldaju bayıju qočorba* (91) „die Leute gerieten ins Dunkel und blieben zurück“; 2) *bälbisün bärgän-ıyän* (68) „meine Witwe und Schwägerinnen“; 3) *bida bu bawuya* (118) „wir wollen nicht lagern“; 4) ... *bida-tur böʻät jäšigü ügä büyü* (118) „auf uns dann zielende Worte sind es“; 5) *Bodončar boqdo-yın bariju abuqsan ämä-däčä töräksän ba* (121) „wir sind geboren von einer Frau, die Bodončar, der Heilige geraubt hat“ 6); *bulqaldun бүкүй-түр* (79) „als sie mit ihnen kämpften“; 7) *gär-tür бүкүн haran бүгүдäʻär bosču nılbujuʻuı* (152) „die Leute, die in der Jurte waren, alle miteinander standen auf und spieen sie auch an“; 8) *qamsaya bida käʻäʻät qutuʻar üdür čärig-ıyän čıʻulqaju čärik aʻüşgäjü* (133) „wir wollen sie in die Zange nehmen“, sagte er und am dritten Tage, als sie ihre Truppen gesammelt hatten, liessen sie die Truppen ziehen“; 9) *čisun čuburıʻulju* (131, 173, 178) „sie liessen Blut fliessen“; 10) *dayisun-a dawuliqdarun* (156) „als wir in die Hand des Feindes fielen“; 11) *dägältü döräksän* (181) „gekleidet geboren“; 12) *dälätčü juqus dutaʻaju Onan mürän öʻädä*

duta'aba (55) „(seinem Falben die Schenkel) peitschend entkam er in höchster Eile davonjagend den Onan-Fluss aufwärts“; 13) *gänättä gürtäjü* (93) „als er auf einmal von ihnen überrascht wurde“; 14) *naran sara qoyar gārātän gägä'än* (189) „Sonne und Mond, zwei glänzende Lichter“; 15) *gār-tür gürba* (93) „sie kamen zur Jurte“, vgl. *gār-tür-iyän gürba* ib., ~ *gürčü* (105), ~ *gürü'ät* (67); 16) *gübčün gü'ü* (83) „einen ganzen Menschen“; 17) *nikän gürümälä kö'ün gü'ün* (90) „einen frischen Burschen“; 18) *jaba ja'ura* (79) „zwischen Felsspalten“; 19) *Qorqonaq jubur jorin ičuba* (115) „sie gingen in der Richtung auf Qorqonaq-jubur zurück“; 20) *tan-ī bügüdä-yi čü'ün-tür ülijü kädüya kă'äldüba kă'äjü'ü* (154) „wir haben beschlossen euch alle am Radstift gemessen abzuschlachten“; 21) *änä kälän-tür aba dă'ärä bö'ät kār kikün kă'äldü'äsü* (190) „als man darauf noch auf dem Jagdplatze beriet, wie man sich verhalten solle“; 22) *ädö'ä kö'üd-iyän nür kār üjāküi bi kă'ät* (112) „wie kann ich da das Gesicht meiner Söhne sehen?“; 32) *mašī mawulabai* (78) „sie nahm es ihnen sehr übel“; 24) *mašī möräljü* (69) „er bangt sich sehr“; 25) *muqulī musqulī ügäi* (268) „völlig vernichten“; 26) *Bälgütai-yin mürü müt gü čabčiba* (136) „Bälgütäis Schulterblatt haben sie glatt durchgehauen“; 27) *nīsun nilbusu-bar* (93) „mit Tränen“ (sowohl *nīsun* als *nilbusun* bedeutet „Träne“); 28) *qaltari'-ulu'at qarquilu'a* (80) „... dass es daran scheuerte, trat er heraus“; 29) *qamuq-un qahan ulus-un äjän* (53) „Chan aller, Herr des Staates“, vgl. oben B; 30) *änä qanalqa-tur qamsaya qamtu morilaya*... (133) „bei dieser Gelegenheit wollen wir sie in die Zange nehmen, wir wollen gemeinsam ins Feld ziehen“; 31) *qaru'at qadana* (112) „sie ging hin aus“, vgl. f.; 32) *qadana qarču qonotuqai*... *qadana qonoqsat qorčün*... (229) „nach draussen gehend sollen sie dort nächtigen... die Köcherträger, die draussen genächtigt haben“; 33) *qatqulduqsan qajar-ača qarın ičüba kă'äba* (174) „das hat er gesagt und ist dann vom Kampfplatz wieder umgekehrt“; 34) ... *qoyar qamtu* (118, 138), vgl. *qoyar qamtutba* (200), *qoyar qamtutču* (109, 115, 142) „beide zusammen“; 35) *qorqolaqsan qajar-dur-ıyan* (88) „an ihren Platz, wo sie (ein Verhau gebaut und) sich verschanzt haben“; 36) *qoro qolıqu* (67) „Gift mischen“; 37) *Čilädü qoši'un qučilis qarıju*... (55) „als Čilädü an einem Bergvorsprung zurückkehrte“; 38) *ququru qarbuqu* (128) „entzweischiesse“; 39) vgl. oben 34, ... *qurban qamtutču* (108, 115) „alle drei zusammen“; 40) *qurban qonoq* (67) „drei Tage (je 24 Stunden)“, vgl. *qurban qonoju* (90bis), *qurban qonoju qarsu* (80), *qurban qonoba* (80) „drei Nächte verbrachte er“; 41) *qurba'ula qoši'un qučilduju* (55) „die Drei kamen um die Bergspitze herum“; 42) *qurdun qubı-yın quya inu* (55) „dem falben Renner die Schenkel peitschend“, vgl. oben 12) und weiter 43) *qurdun qubıtu aju'u qubı-yu'an quya inu*... (55); 44) *qučal*

qučamuī (189) „das Gebell tönt“; 45) *sä'üdär-tür sa'uju* (131) „im Schatten sitzend“; 46) *soyurqal so'ongqu'ulu'asu* (213) „Gnadengeschenk auswählen“; 47) *sumu-ban salbaju* (77) „Pfeile herausziehend“; 48) *süni-dä sandurču* (110) „in der Nacht in Auflösung“; 49) *šiquī-dur širququ* (79) „in das Walddickicht sich einbohren“; 50) ... *taniju täbärüldün tusulčaba* (110) „er erkannte sie und sie stürzten aufeinander zu, sich zu umarmen“; 51) *tändä täri'ün täyin tayiqdarun* inäjü'ü (189) „da grinste das Haupt, als ihm geopfert wurde“; 52) *tämür tälägätü* (199) „mit eisernem Wagen“; 53) *tärgän-i tänggäli ququs otba* (101) „da brach dem Karren die Achse“; 54) *tongqaq talbiqu* (154) „weitermelden“ (eig. „Weitermeldung loslassen“); 55) *torluq Tayang* (189) „Schwächling Tayang“, vgl. 56) *änä Tayang-i älbäsü'är törä'ülülä'ä ayī torluq töröksän kö'ün mīnu törülmiši* (189) „diesen Tayang habe ich nur durch Gebet erzeugt. Wehe! Ob mein als Schwächling geborener Sohn Törülmiš ...“; 57) *tusa-yin tula* (217) „als Hilfe“.

Diese Beispiele zeigen, dass die Alliteration im Mongolischen nicht nur als poetisches Mittel gebraucht wurde, sondern einen wichtigen stilistischen Bestandteil der prosaischen Sprache bildete (es handelt sich da, wie aus den angeführten Belegen zu ersehen ist, teils um ständige Redewendungen, teils um stilistischen Sondergebrauch) und somit die poetisch gebrauchte Alliteration nur einen Sonderfall des Gebrauchs der Alliteration im Mongolischen darstellt.

Ein Sonderfall der Alliteration ist auch die *Figura etymologica*, wo zwei verschiedene von derselben Wurzel gebildete Wortformen zu einem stilistischen Ganzen verbunden werden. Da es im Mongolischen keine Präverbien gibt, fangen beide Wörter mit demselben Laute an und so gehört die *Figura etymologica* im Mongolischen auch zur Alliteration.⁷ Auch unter den Belegen der *Figura etymologica* in MNT gibt es teils solche, die weniger häufig, einmal, teils solche, die häufiger vorkommen. Belege: 1) *abliqa abun atuqai* (217) „Gnadengabe sollen sie erhalten“, vgl. *abliqa abtuqai* (218); 2) *aldal aldaqu* „mit Strafe bestraft werden“, vgl. *aldal alda'asu* (211), *aldal alda'asu bu aldatuqai* (214), *aldal-tur bu aldatuqai* (203), *alda'uldaqun yosutan-i alda'ul* (ib.); 3) *asqaquy-i asqa'at* (145) „was ich ausspeien konnte, habe ich ausgespieen“; 4) *äyä äyätüldüba* (154) „sie berieten miteinander“; 5) *günäsün baran bara'asu quča'asu ülü boluyi* (199) „mit dem Proviant erst zu sparen, wenn er schon knapp

⁷ Auch im altindischen Veda findet man dieses Stilmittel, die *Figura etymologica*, häufig gebraucht, vgl. meinen Aufsatz 'Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta', *Archiv Orientalní*, VII, 1935, S. 423–436, und auch im Altindischen hat der Gebrauch dieses Stilmittels zu Anfängen der Etymologie als Wissenschaft geführt, nur dass die Inder da weiter gekommen sind als die Mongolen.

ist, das geht nicht"; 6) ... *bärinäd-iyän bärilä'üljü* (189) „die Riten der Schwiegertöchter üben"; 7) *bäri'ädäsü bärü'ä-yin qar'u bärü'ägü* (227) „Wenn ihr mit dem Stock schlägt, soll man euch für jeden Stockhieb wieder einen Stockhieb ... zurückzahlen"; 8) *kökö dābtār bičik bičiju* (203) „in ein Blaubuch mit Schrift einschreiben"; 9) *bulqa bulqaqu* „einen Kampf kämpfen", vgl. *bulqa bulqalduqu-tur, bulqa-tur bulqaldun-jä* (249) und *bulqa bolun* (151); 10) *bülä'an-äčä bülät* (254); 11) *büriksän bürkirän (kö'ürgä)* (106) „die bezogene dröhnende (Trommel)"; 12) *ča'ur ča'uraqu* (254) „auf einen Kriegszug ausziehen"; 13) *kökö bičik čaqa'an ča'ulsun-tur* (203) „in blauer Schrift auf weissen Papier"; 14) *čimar-tur čimatqu* (177) „mit Scheltworten schelten"; 15) *čisun čuburi'ulqu* (178) „Blut fliessen lassen"; 16) *daba'an dabaqu* (199) „einen Pass überschreiten"; 17) *darqat ... darqalaqu* (219) „Darqan-Vorrechte verleihen"; 18) *kökö dābtār bičik bičiju dābtärlägi* (203) „in ein Blaubuch mit Schrift einschreiben und als Buch zurechtgemacht ..."; 19) *dongqotču dongqodun* (246) „er schalt ihn lange aus"; 20) *üdür gäyijü gägän bolju* (145) „als der Tag hell wurde, wurde es Licht"; 21) *gär gärlägi* „ein Haus bauen", vgl. ~ *gärlän* (103); 22) *sayi gürägän gürägälän bülügi* (155) „gerade hatte der Eidam die Ehe geschlossen"; 23) *güčütü-yin güjüün bökö-yin böksü daruju ...* (209) „den Hals des Starken und den Hinteren des Athleten hast du mir heruntergedrückt"; 24) *nama-yi güyijü güyičäji* ... (214) von *güyigü, güyičägi* ds. „laufen"; 25) *gürä'an-tür gürä'äsü gürä'an-ü* (205) „als wir an die Hürde kamen ... am Rande der Hürde"; 26) *hači-yan kär hačilaqun bida* (105) „wie wollen wir unsere Vergeltung üben"; 26a) *minqan minqalan, ja'u ja'ulan, harban harbalan baraju* (191) „als Tausendschaften zu Tausend eingeteilt waren, die Hundertschaften zu Hundert und die Zehnschaften zu zehn. ...", vgl. auch 224; 27) *hirijägüyü üyilä däčä hiričäba* (178) „von einer Pflicht, von der man doch nicht abweichen kann, bin ich abgewichen"; 28) *horum horumlaqu* (103bis) „einem Nebenwege folgen"; 29) *qoji'ulas tutum qongš'ut hönji'üläs tutum hönš'i'üt ...* (27) „auf vertrocknete Bäume Stinkendes, auf verdorrte Bäume Übelriechendes"; 30) *hünür minu hünäsčü yabu* (55) „mach dich davon und hier kannst du meinen Geruch riechen"; 31) *idäküi idä'an* (26) „Nahrung zum Unterhalt"; 32) *ja'arin ja'aqsan* (206) „göttliches Vorzeichen hat sich angezeigt"; 33) *jalkiquy-i jalki'at* (145) „was ich schlucken konnte, habe ich heruntergeschluckt"; 34) *jarqu jarqulaqsan* (203) „Prozesssachen entscheiden"; 35) *järgä-tür järgälän* (208) „sich in die Ordnung einreihend"; 36) *Mongqol-un jirqalang dābsän qurimlan jirqaqu bülä'a* (57) „der Ausdruck der Freude bei den Mongolen bestand darin sich durch Tanz und Festmahl zu

ergötzen"; 37) ... *Jäbä* naräyitčü *jäbäläyä* imayī (147) „ich nenne ihn Jäbä (= Waffe) und will ihn als Streitross brauchen"; 38) bi änä süni *jäwüdü*n *jäwüdüläbä* (63) „ich habe diese Nacht einen Traum geträumt" vgl. ib. *jäwüdü*n sayin *jäwüdüläbä*; 39) *kälän* *kä'ägü* „eine Rede reden", vgl. *kä'an* änä *kälän* (133), *kä'an* *kälä* (142), *kälälän* bara'asu jöb *kä'äbä* (146), *käläksän* *kälän* (118), *kä'äldülä'äi* *kä'äkdäjä* (136), *kälä* ... *käläläjä* (194), vgl. unten 71); 40) *käräl* *kärägü* (194) „einen Kampf kämpfen", vgl. oben 9); 41) *käšikläksät* *käšiktän-i* *bügütkäjä* (227); 42) *kisal* *kisaqu* „Rache vergelten", vgl. ~ *kisan* (58, 214), ~ *kisaju* (154); 43) *kituqaī-bar qatququ* (178) „mit dem Messer stechen"; 44) *kököksän* *kökän* tan-u änä büi ädä (244) „das sind die Brüste, an denen ihr gesogen habt"; 45) *köyitän* *köbšildüjä* (207) „Kälte miteinander vertragen"; 46) *nuntuq nuntuqlaqu* (207, 219) „Lager machen"; 47) *nämürgä-bän* *nämürüksä'är* (205) „mit eigener Filzdecke gedeckt"; 48) *noyitan* *nobšilduqu* (207) „mit Nässe nass werden"; 49) *tärä* *nököčäksä'är* *nököčäküi* yosun täyimü (95) „so war der Hergang, wie sie, nachdem sie Kameradschaft geschlossen haben, sich zusammenfanden", vgl. *nököčäkün* *nököčöl* (149); 50) *olu'asu* *oluqsa'-ar* (219) „wenn Beute gefunden ist, sollt ihr nehmen, wie ihr es gefunden habt"; 51) *ongšilalduju* *ongšiju* (142) von *ongšiqu* (Haenisch *ungšihu* „rufen"); 52) *ösgü-li'ä* *ösülčägü*, vgl. 204, „mit seinem Aufwachsen zusammen aufwachsen"; 53) *ösül* *ösügü* „Rache nehmen", vgl. ~ *ösün* (58, 254), *ösül-iyän* *ösün* (105), *ösül-iyän* *kär* *ösäkün* ib., *ösül* *ösüjä* (154); 54) *qada'asun* *qada'ulba* (174) „einen Nagel einschlagen"; 55) *gi'ün* *tutun* *qančun-dur-iyän* *kituqaī* *qančulaju* (154) „lasset uns jeder ein Messer in seine Ärmel stecken"; 56) *qaqačaquy-u* *törä'-däčä* *qaqačaba* (178) „von dem Grundsatz kann man sich ... trennen habe ich mich freigemacht"; 57) *qorčün* *qor-tur* (229); 58) *qorqa* *qorqalaju* (vgl. 198) „ein Verhau bauen"; 59) *qubčir-i* *qubčiqu* (vgl. 151, 152) „Abgaben einziehen"; 60) *qubi* *qubilaqu*, vgl. 203, „in Teile teilen"; 61) *quč'ulquī-tur qučilduba-jä* (205) „du warst mit in der Umzingelung"; 62) *qurīm* *qurīm-laju* (275) „ein Festmahl veranstalten"; 63) *qulaquqsan-i* *qulaqaī* (131); 64) *sa'urī* *sa'uqu* „auf dem Sitz sitzen", vgl. ~ *sa'urun* (213), ~ *dä'ärä* *sa'ulju* (216), ~ *dä'ärä* *sa'uju* (206); 65) *sätkil* *sätkigü* „Gedanken denken", vgl. 127; 66) *to'a* *to'olaju*, ~ *to'oqu* „die Zahl abzählen", vgl. ~ *to'olalduba* (175), *to'a-ban* *to'olaldaju* (191), *to'a* *to'ulaju* (265); 67) *törägü-li'ä* *töräldüksän* (204) „du bist mit mir gemeinsam geboren"; 68) *Tümän-Tübägän-i* *tügä'äldüjä* *tügätälä* *abulčaba* (187) „bei der Auseinander- teilung der Zehntausend Tübägän nahmen sie sich, bis sie alle genug hatten"; 69) *tüsürgä* *tüsürgü* „den Weintrog ausgießen", vgl. ~ *tüsürčü'üi* und ~ *tüsürküi-yin* (130); 70) *übül* *übuljägü* „den Winter verbringen",

vgl. (177) ~ *übüljäju* und (151) ~ *übüljäbä*; 71) *ügä ügülgü* „Worte sprechen“ ist die am häufigsten vorkommende *Figura etymologica*, vgl. *ügä ügülät* (190), ~ *ügülä'ülju* (ibid.), ~ *ügülämüi* (34), ~ *ügüldürün* (164), ~ *ügülärün* (22), ~ *ügülätkün* (183), ~ *ügülän* (190), ~ *ügülä'äsü* (34, 146), *ügäs ügüläju'üi* (184), ~ *ügülälü'ä* (265), ~ *ügüldülä'ä* (201bis), ~ *ügülä'ät* (196), ~ *ügüläju'üi* (194), ~ *ügüläju* (107, 194), ~ *ügüldäju* (167), *ügüläksän* ~ (169), *ügüläksän* ~ *ügüläju'ü* (169), und weiter 105, 127, 179, 180, 200, 188, 155, 127, 136; 72) *üyilä inu ... üyilätbä-jä* (208) „du hast seine Leistung ausgeführt“.

Der hiemit belegte häufige Gebrauch dieser in der mongolischen Sprache tiefeingewurzelten stilistischen Mittel, der Wortdoppelung, der sowohl in Prosa als auch in Poesie gebrauchten Alliteration und der *Figura etymologica*, sowohl der richtigen, als auch der vermeintlichen (s. Beispiele 43, 45, 48), machen es verständlich, dass der gelehrte, literarisch hochbegabte, wenngleich noch immer unbekannte Verfasser der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen (wohl Šigi-Qutuqu⁸) von diesem Mittel auch bei der Zurechtmachung des Stammbaums des Tschingis Chan⁹ reichlich Gebrauch machte und manchen altmongolischen Stammesnamen auf diese Weise zu erklären suchte. Es handelt sich in MNT um folgende Fälle: 1) Qač'ün-u kö'ün *Adarkidaï* nārätü bülä'ä. aqa dā'ü ja'ura *adaruqč'i* tula *Adargin* oboqtan bolba (46) „Qač'uns Sohn hiess Adarkidaï. Da er ein Zwischenträger (*adaruqč'i* oder *aduruqč'i*, bei Haenisch, *Wtb.*, *adaluč'i* „Späher, Spion, Zwischenträger“, wohl zu *adalaqu* „Ubheil machen“) unter seinen Brüdern war, so war das die Sippe Adargin“.¹⁰ Auch Pelliot¹¹ hält diese Etymologie der MNT für Volksetymologie, aber er verbindet mong. *aduruqč'i* mit türk. *adruq* „verschieden, abgesondert von“. Freilich ist da auch die Verbindung mit einem anderen türk. *adruq* möglich, das durch Metathese aus *artuq* entstanden ist und „mehr, sehr, vorzüglich“ bedeutet. Ein solcher Stammesname ist angesichts z.B. des altind. *Ārya*-ansprechender. – 2) *bariju* abuqsan ämä bülä'ä kä'an tärä kö'ün-i *Ba'aridaï* nāräyitbä. *Ba'arin* äbügä tärä bolba. (41) „(Jene Frau) gebär dann noch einen Sohn von

⁸ Vgl. meine demnächst erscheinende Abhandlung *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Erklärung*.

⁹ Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz 'Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan', in *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig 1954, S. 442–452.

¹⁰ So Haenisch. Pelliot übersetzt frei, *a.a.O.*, S. 127, „comme (parmi eux) frères aînés et frères cadets se disputaient mutuellement, ils eurent le nom de clan de Adargin.“ Kozin, *a.a.O.*, S. 83, fasst den Ausdruck *adaruqč'i* als *sutyaga* „derjenige, der Hader liebt, prozesssüchtiger Mensch“.

¹¹ *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-Wou Ts'in-Tcheng-Lou*. Traduit et annoté par Paul Pelliot et Louis Hambis, Tome I, Leyden 1951, S. 58.

Bodončar.) Weil es eine durch Raub gewonnene (*bariqu* „ergreifen, festnehmen“) Frau war, nannte er den Sohn Ba'aridaï".¹² – 3) Qač'i'u-yin kö'ün *Barulatai* nărătū bülä'ä. yākä bā'ätü idä'an-ä *baruq* bülä'ä *Barulas* oboqtan bolba. (46) „Der Sohn des Qač'i'u hiess Barulatai. Er hatte einen grossen Bauch und war gierig beim Essen. Das war der Stamm der Barulas.“ Diese Etymologie wird im nachfolgenden Text noch einmal eingeschränkt: Qačula-yin kö'ün idä'an-ä *baruq* tula Yākä-*Barula* Üčügän-*Barula* nărăyitčü *Barulas* oboqtan bolqaju Ärdämtü-*Barula* Tödö'an-*Barula* täri'ütän *Barulas* tädä bolba. „Qačulas Söhne wurden, da sie auch gierig beim Essen waren, der Grosse Barula und der Kleine Barula genannt und bildeten Barulas Sippen. Das waren die verschiedenen Barulas mit den Ärdämtü-Barulas und den Tödö'an-Barulas an der Spitze.“¹³ – 4) Der ganze Abschnitt 42 ist aus solchen Etymologien zusammengestellt: *Bälgünütai* *Bälgünüt* oboqtan bolba. *Bügünütai* *Bügünüt* oboqtan bolba. *Buqu-Qatagi* *Qatagin* oboqtan bolba. *Buqutu-Saljī* *Saljī'ut* oboqtan bolba. *Bodončar* *Borjigin* oboqtan bolba. „Aus *Bälgünütai* wurden die Leute vom Stamm *Bälgünüt*, aus *Bügünütai* die vom Stamm *Bügünüt*, aus *Buqu-Qatagi* die vom Stamm *Qatagin*, aus *Buqutu-Saljī* die vom Stamm *Saljī'ut*, und aus *Bodončar* die vom Stamm *Borjigin*.“ Es versteht sich von selbst, dass die mit dem Possessivsuffix *-tai/-tāi* gebildeten Namen (*Bälgünütai*, *Bügünütai*) von den Stammesnamen abgeleitet sind und nicht umgekehrt. Das besagt uns, dass es sich auch hier um eine volksetymologische Erklärung der alten Stammesnamen handelt, und ebenso, wenn man vom zweiten Bestandteil der Namen *Buqu-Qatagi* und *Buqutu-Saljī* die Stammesnamen *Qatagin* und *Saljī'ut* ableitet; die Heroes eponymoi sind zu den Stammesnamen später erdacht worden. Wenn die Namen *Bälgütai* und *Bälgünüt* mit türk. *bälgü* „Zeichen, Vorzeichen“ (= mong. *bälgä* „Ausweis“), wie Pelliot¹⁴ meint, zu verbinden sind, dann handelt es sich bei diesem Stamm um mongolisierte Türken; ebenso bei *Bügünütai* von *Bügünüt* zu türk. *bügü* „weise, zauberkundig“.¹⁵ Die zwei ersten Söhne der Alan-qo'a wären also Türken, d.h. Urväter von ursprünglich türkisch sprechenden Stämmen. Was sind die übrigen auf übernatürliche Weise gezeugten Drei? *Buqu* = mong. *buqu* „Hirsch“, *Buqutu* = mong. *buqu-tu* „der des Hir-

¹² So Haenisch, ebenso Pelliot, S. 126; Kozin, S. 83, übersetzt: „Und da er von einer Gefangenen abstammte, nannte man auch den Sohn Ba'aridaï.“ Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 34, bemerkt: „Le nom de Bārin n'est pas expliqué.“

¹³ Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 34, hält auch diese Etymologie nur für Volksetymologie und den Ursprung des Stammesnamens für unbekannt.

¹⁴ *Histoire*, S. 187.

¹⁵ Pelliot, *ib.*, S. 250.

sches", *Bodončar* = mong. *bodo-nčar*. Das Suffix *-nčar* bildet Namen, die die Stufe der Verwandtschaft bezeichnen;¹⁶ *bodo* bedeutet „Stück Vieh". Wahrscheinlich haben wir es also hier bei diesen drei Namen mit totemistischen Stammesnamen zu tun, wozu auch *Borjigin*, eig. *Borčigin* gehört, das man mit MNT *borčin sono* (200) „eine Entenart" verbinden kann.¹⁷ – 5) Ebenso leitet der Verfasser des MNT *Bäsüt* von *Bäsütai* (47), *Jäwüräd* von *Jäwürädai* (44) und *Uru'ut*, *Mangqut* von *Uru'udaï*, *Mangqutaï* (46) ab. – 6) *Qaraldaï-yin kö'üt buda'an qutqulaqu äki täri'ü ügä'ün tula Buda'at oboqtan tädä bolba* (46). „Qaraldaïs Söhne wurden, da sie beim Rühren des Reises (*buda'an* „Reisbrei") keine Rangordnung machten, die Buda'at-Sippe genannt."¹⁸ – 7) *Duwa-soqor aqa inu dörbän kö'ütü bülä'ä ... Dörbän oboqtan bolju Dörbän irgän tädä bolba*. (11) „Sein älterer Bruder Duwa, der Blinde, hatte vier (*dörbän*) Söhne ... Sie bildeten vier Familien. Die wurden dann das Dörbän-volk."¹⁹ Es handelt sich da wahrscheinlich um eine Stammeskonföderation, die aus vier Stämmen bestand. – 8) ... *Jöči-Darmala-yin adu'un dä'ärmädürä otču'ui Taičar Jöči-Darmala-yin adu'un dä'ärmätčü abču otču'ui. Jöči-Darmala adu'u-ban dä'ärmätčü otdaju nököd-iyän jürügä yadaqdaju ...* (128) „um unseren Jöči-Darmala seine Pferdeherde zu rauben (*dä'ärmätgü*). Taičar zog mit der geraubten Herde Jöči-Darmalas davon. Jöči-Darmala aber, seiner Herde beraubt, ging, da seine Gefährten keinen Mut hatten, auf die Verfolgung." Die dreimalige Wiederholung des unerklärten Namens *Jöči-Darmala* im Zusammenhang mit dem Zeitworte *dä'ärmätgü* „rauben"²⁰ zeigt, dass diese Verbindung beabsichtigt ist und dass es sich um den Versuch handelt den Namen *Darmala* zu erklären. – 9) *Tärä dumda kä'älitäi ämä Bodončar-tur iräjü kö'ü töräbi. Jat irgän-ü kö'ü bülä'ä Jajiradaï näräyitbä. Jadaran-u äbügä tärä bolba. Tärä Jadaradaï-yin kö'ün ...* (40) „Jene Frau in halber Schwangerschaft, die zu Bodončar gekommen war, brachte ein Kind zur Welt. Da es ein Kind einer alten erblichen Familie²¹ war, so nannte er es Jajiradaï. Das wurde der Stammvater der Jadaran." Pelliot²² erklärt *Jadaran* sehr ansprechend

¹⁶ N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, S. 43, § 132.

¹⁷ Vgl. auch Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 120.

¹⁸ So Haenisch. Pelliot, S. 122, übersetzt: „n'avaient pas de préséance pour prendre le riz avec les doigts." Kozin, S. 83, versteht: „Buda'at-Breier ... da bei ihnen wie beim gerührten Brei weder Ältere noch Kopf waren."

¹⁹ Vgl. dazu Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 401.

²⁰ Vgl. auch Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 25.

²¹ So Haenisch, aber im *Wtb. jat* „die Menschen, Menschheit, Zeitgenossen"; Pelliot, S. 126, übersetzt da wortgetreuer: „En disant 'c'est un fils du peuple *Jat*' (cf. *yat* en Turc), on le nomma *Jajiradaï*; c'est lui qui fut l'ancêtre des *Jadaran*." Kozin, S. 82: „Da man ihn für den Sohn eines fremden Stammes hielt..."

²² *Histoire*, S. 28.

aus *jat* = türk. *yat* „fremd“ + mong. (*h*)*aran* „Mensch“ und nennt die Etymologie des MNT fantastisch. Es ist aber wieder nur eine volksetymologische Erklärung. – 10) *Jürkin-ä* iräkdäküi-äčä *jirqo'an* üdüt güličäjü yadaju (133) „Sie warteten sechs (*jirqo'an*) Tage, ohne dass die Jürkin kamen,“ mit *Jürkin-i jirqo'an* üdüt güličäjü ... (136) „die Jürkin, auf die wir sechs Tage gewartet haben ...“, a'urtan sülsütän omoqtan *jörkimäs* tula *Jürkin* kä'äkdägü yosun täyimü (139) „als kraftvolle, mutige, stolze und unwiderstehliche (*jörkimäs*) Männer wurden sie Jürkin genannt. So war der Hergang.“ Ökin-Barqaq-un kö'ün Qutuqtu-Yürki bulä'ä ... *Yürki* oboqtan tädä bolba (49) „Ökin-Barqaqs Sohn war Qutuqtu-Yürki ... Die wurden die Yürki-Sippe.“ Es hängt also *Jürki(n)* mit *Yürki* zusammen und MNT bietet den Versuch des Verfassers diesen Namen zu erklären, der in seiner Verbindung von *Jürkin* mit *jörkimäs* eine volksetymologische Erklärung ist. Angesichts des Wechsels *y-j* (wie oben *yat* = *jat* oder türk. *yıl* neben mong. *jil* „Jahr“) wird man den Namen für ursprünglich türkisch (etwa zu alttürk. *yürük* „schnellfüssig“ oder zu *yürük* „Herz,“ dann mit mong. MNT *jirügän* „Herz“ zusammenhängend) halten müssen.²³ – 11) kö'ün inu *mänä mätü* türäba. *Mänä-Ba'arin* oboqtan tädä bolba (41) „Söhne von ihm wurden in Menge (*mänä mätü*) geboren. Das wurden die vom Stamm *Mänä-Ba'arin*.“²⁴ In diesem Falle wird die Etymologie des MNT richtig sein. – 12) Qačın-u kö'ün *Noyagidaï* näratäi bulä'ä. *noyamšik* aburitu tula *Noyakın* oboqtan bolba. (46) „Qačins Sohn hiess *Noyagidaï*. Da er das Gebaren einer Amtsperson (*noyamšik* „wie ein Beamter“) hatte, wurden seine Nachkommen die *Noyakın* genannt.“ Da ist wieder der Stammvater jünger als sein Geschlecht (*Noyagidaï* aus *Noyakın*). – 13) *Qorı-Tumad-un* noyan *Qorılartaï-märgän* ... (8) „der Obere der *Qorı-Tumat*, *Qorılartaï-märgän*“; *Qorılartaï-märgän* *Qorı-Tumad-un* qajar-tur-ıyan buluqan kărämün görä'ätäi qajar-ıyan *qorılalduju* mawulalduju ... (9) „*Qorılartaï-märgän* hatte sich, da man ihm in seinem Gebiet der *Qorı-Tumat* seine Zobel-, Wiesel- (oder Eichhorn-?) und Wildreviere absperrete (*qorılalduqu* zu *qorıya'an* „umfriedeter Platz“) mit seinen Nachbarn erzürnt ...“ MNT versucht also auch hier der Namen *Qorılartaï* zu erklären und mit *qorılalduqu* (Wortspiel!) „absperren“ zu verbinden, obwohl das Zusammengehören von *Qorılartaï* mit *Qorı-Tumat* auch ihm ganz klar ist. *Qorılartaï* bedeutet „der von den *Qorilar*“ und *Qorilar* sieht aus wie ein

²³ Vgl. dazu noch Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 200. Eine Erklärung des Namens als gleich griech. Ἰόρκα bei Herodot, IV, 22, vgl. in meiner oben angekündigten Abhandlung.

²⁴ So Haenisch. Pelliot, S. 126: „et ses fils naissaient comme à chaque instant.“

Plur. (mit türk. Pluralsuffix *-lar*) von *qorï* — mong. *qorï(n)* „20“. Es gibt aber auch ein türk. Zeitwort *qoru-*, *qorï* „behüten“, das mit mong. *qorïya'an* „umfriedeter Platz“ etymologisch zusammenhängt. Es kann sich da also wieder um einen ursprünglich türksprachigen Stamm handeln.²⁵

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass es diesem Versuche des Verfassers des MNT so ergangen ist, soviel man bisher weiss, wie den Endungen der Feminina im alten Mongolischen: es gab da gewisse Anfänge, aber die Sache ist nicht weiter gepflegt worden. Die Volks-etymologischen Versuche des MNT können also nur als weiterer Beweis dafür dienen, dass man im MNT die *Figura etymologica* auch zur Erklärung von etymologisch undurchsichtigen Stammesnamen gebrauchte. Diese Etymologien sind aber auch als ein weiterer Beweis des künstlichen Stils des Werkes zu bewerten. Während aber die Wortdoppelung und die Alliteration ein dem Mongolischen eigenes Mittel bilden, das sowohl der mongolischen Poesie als auch der Prosa eigen ist, sind die *Figura etymologica* und die etymologischen Versuche des Verfassers der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen ein hier speziell gebrauchtes stilistisches Mittel. Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen ist auch in dieser Hinsicht ein Kunstwerk.

²⁵ Anders Pelliot, *Histoire*, S. 41, 60. Nach Pelliot handelt es sich um zwei Stämme: Qorï und Tumat.

REVIEWS

Orientalism and History. Edited by Denis Sinor. Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1954. VIII + 107 pages.

The editor of the book reviewed correctly points out, that Oriental studies occupy a comparatively insignificant place among the fields of human knowledge. The data made available by the Orientalists to non-specialists represent an infinitesimal portion of what is, in fact, known on the subject, and the non-specialists have no clear picture of the difficulties they must overcome to attain this knowledge, nor do they know the limitations inherent in Oriental research. Therefore, the principal aim of this interesting book is to contribute to a better integration of Oriental history into general history. To achieve this aim the authors of the articles contained in this book have indicated to the general historians some of the key problems of Oriental studies and suggested to the Orientalists a fuller realization of how their fields can be set in their proper places in general history (p. v).

The book consists of five chapters written by different authors. The first chapter is 'The Ancient Near East' (pp. 1-15), written by the late H. Frankfort, to whose memory the book reviewed is dedicated. The Ancient Near East is treated here as an entity, both geographically and chronologically speaking. This chapter contains a concise history of an area from Greece to Iran with an offshoot in the Indus Valley, covering the time from 3000 B.C. to 500 B. C.

The following chapter, 'Islam' (pp. 16-33) by Bernard Lewis, opens with the well deserved criticism of the Western universities where history of the Arabs has been taught by historians knowing no Arabic or by Arabists who did not know history. The author correctly points out that there are still no historical grammars or dictionaries of the Islamic languages (p. 17). This chapter contains some definitions of the extent of the subject in space and time and also of its contents. This is followed by a brief characteristic of the sources of Islamic history, both literary (pp. 25-28) and documentary (pp. 28-32). The last two pages of this article contain a brief bibliography.

The chapter 'India and its Cultural Empire' by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (pp. 34-56) is a brief survey of the Indian culture and its impact on the neighbouring countries, which geographically are separate areas but culturally belong to the Indian world. The latter is an immense field requiring a knowledge of the many European and Oriental languages enumerated by the author. Tibetan should be added to the languages mentioned, because so many ancient sūtras and other Buddhist books have been preserved only in Tibetan translation.

The chapter 'China' by Edwin G. Pulleybank (pp. 57-81) deals only with the Chinese in the Han period, one of the most fascinating periods of Chinese history, and I think the reader should be thankful to the author of this chapter for having given such a clear picture of that important period rather than a general outline of Chinese history from ancient times to our days.

It is the chapter 'Central Eurasia' by Denis Sinor (pp. 82-103) which I am going to discuss more thoroughly, not only because it deals with subjects more familiar to me, but also because this field lies within the scope of this journal. This area is also less well known than many other fields of Oriental studies and, therefore, there are in the general literature many more misconceptions about the peoples of Central Eurasia and their history than about the peoples discussed in the preceding chapters of the book. The

author of this chapter, Dr. Sinor, is right when he states that the history of Central Eurasia cannot be located in time. The area itself is rather vague, too. We do not know the exact boundaries of that area, because the frontiers constantly changed. The peoples and tribes inhabiting that area since times immemorable were labelled as barbarians by the Chinese. But were they really barbarians? And what is a barbarian? I think Sinor is right when he says that there is no such thing as an absolute barbarian (p. 83), that the so-called barbarians were simply peoples and tribes possessing civilizations inferior to that of the Chinese. But what they possessed was, nonetheless, civilization. I agree with the author when he considers the achievements of the nomads in the field of creative arts insignificant, but I do not share his rather unfavourable opinion of their oral poetry (p. 90). The ancient Turks possessed an outstanding epic poem *Qorqud*, and the modern Kazakh and Kirghiz have their unsurpassed *Manas* sagas. The Mongols, especially the Buriats and the Oirats, have very impressive epic poems of from 10,000 to 20,000 verses. I again agree with Sinor when he says that in the mythology of the nomads there are remains of an epoch when there was no distinction between the civilized and the uncivilized. An outstanding feature of Central Eurasia is also religious tolerance. This takes the author further and leads him to examine more closely the political achievements in that area. The only means for improving economic conditions in that primitive age was conquest. This meant war, but war was no more cruel than in our times. Sinor is again right when he points out that Attila or Chingis Khan were harmless people in comparison to Nero or Caligula. Unnecessary cruelty was never committed by the Turks or Mongols. The author believes that the greatest achievement of Central Eurasia was its spirit of solidarity (p. 93). This perfectly correct idea is very close to that of the late Wł. Kotwicz, who discovered that the Mongols as early as in the XIIIth century were promoters of collective security.

Central Eurasia is an intermediary between the great sedentary civilizations, as Sinor says (p. 93). This definition is close in meaning to what K. Wittfogel calls 'a marginal society'. No matter how we call that society it is a phenomenon which is complicated and difficult to understand. Sinor is right when he says, that few fields of research are more promising than this area.

This inspiring chapter is followed by the 'Epilogue' in which the Editor summarizes the basic ideas underlying the chapters discussed.

In conclusion I should remark that the book *Orientalism and History* is not only an inspiring scholarly book, but also a useful introduction to Oriental studies, which certainly will be appreciated by general readers. If there is anything lacking in this book it is a bibliography, because bibliographic notes are appended only to two chapters.

Nicholas Poppe

Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie I [Studies on Asia, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington]). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1954. XII, 195 Seiten.

Mit dem Erscheinen dieses neuen Buches hat N. N. Poppe der Altaistik und insbesondere der Mongolistik ein Geschenk präsentiert, das einen bedeutenden Schritt nach vorwärts darstellt, wenn nicht den Endpunkt einer Entwicklungsphase in Ansehung der Darstellung der mongolischen Schriftsprache.

Die nichtrussische Altaistik war bislang in einer nicht sehr erfreulichen Position, da es erstens keine in einer westeuropäischen Sprache geschriebene schriftmongolische Grammatik gab, die wissenschaftlich und didaktisch in gleicher Weise akzeptabel war, und zweitens die russisch geschriebenen schriftmongolischen Grammatiken bibliographische Raritäten oder überhaupt nicht erhältlich waren. N. Poppes Grammatik

schaft hier mit einem Schlage einen grundlegenden Wandel, wofür ihm die Mongolisten der nichtrussischen Welt sehr dankbar sein werden. Darüber hinaus besitzt der nun ausgebildete Altaist ein verlässliches und in allen Punkten befriedigendes Nachschlagewerk.

Die Geschichte der mongolistischen Sprachwissenschaft ist im Vergleich mit anderen jungen Datums, dennoch führt von I. J. Schmidt, O. Kovalevskij, A. Bobrovnikov, W. Kotvič, G. Cybikov über B. J. Vladimircov ein langer Weg zu N. N. Poppe. Waren die einen Pioniere und Wegmacher, so wurde er Systematiker und Vollender einer Einzeldisziplin innerhalb der Mongolistik. Dafür mögen drei Punkte als Beweis angeführt werden: erstens ist N. Poppes Grammatik des Schriftmongolischen die erste, die eine strikte Trennung altmongolischer, vorklassischer (vor dem 17. Jahrhundert), und klassischer Morpheme und syntaktischer Eigentümlichkeiten durchführt, zweitens, *alle* Bildungselemente einschliesslich petrifizierter erfasst, beschreibt und deren Funktionen erklärt, und drittens der mongolischen Syntax eine Ausführlichkeit widmet (beinahe die Hälfte des Buches), die man entweder bisher in allen Grammatiken vermisst hat oder deren Ungenügsamkeit und Unwissenschaftlichkeit in Kauf zu nehmen war.

N. Poppes schriftmongolische Grammatik ist in sechs Abschnitte gegliedert: I. Einleitung (p. 1–6), II. Phonetik (p. 9–15), III. Schriftlehre (p. 17–36), IV. Wortbildungslehre (p. 39–66), V. Formenlehre (p. 69–103), und schliesslich VI. Syntax (p. 105–187). Ein ausgezeichnete Index beschliesst das Werk.

Der Abschnitt I enthält eine konzise Beschreibung der phonetischen Eigentümlichkeiten des Altmongolischen, welches sich phonetisch, mit Ausnahme des verlorengegangenen anlautenden *p oder *f, mit der mongolischen Schriftsprache deckt, über das Mittelmongolische zum Neumongolischen, eine Aufzählung der ältesten chinesischen und indoeuropäischen Lehnwörter, eine kurze Beschreibung der Bedeutung des Buddhismus für die Entwicklung der mongolischen Schrift- und Literatursprache, und schliesslich eine Aufzählung der mongolischen Völkerschaften, deren Sprachen, Schriften, Wohnplätze, und Bevölkerungsanteile.

Der Abschnitt II enthält den Vokalismus, den Konsonantismus, und die Vokalharmonie. Besonders interessant sind die Paragraphen 24–28, in denen die langen Vokale im Schriftmongolischen (!) besprochen werden, mit genauen Angaben, in welchen Positionen die Vokale lang sein müssen. Man beachte (Paragraph 56), dass *qi* und *γi* welches aus **qi* bzw. **γi* entstanden ist nur der vorklassischen Sprache angehört.

Der Abschnitt III, die Schriftlehre, behandelt zum ersten Male erschöpfend und ausführlich alle von den Mongolen bisher benutzten Schriftsysteme (einschliesslich *ᠮᠤᠩᠭᠣᠯᠤᠯᠤᠰ*-Schrift) und Schriftvarianten an Hand von hervorragend hergestellten tafelförmigen Übersichten, was besonders in Ansehung des Studenten der Mongolistik wichtig ist, denn jeder Mongolist dürfte sich erinnern, wieviel Schweiß es gekostet hat, sich mit den verschiedenen Schriftarten und Schreibvarianten, die zu verschiedenen Perioden im Gebrauche waren, vertraut zu machen. Es muss bedauert werden, dass das von den Oiraten im Jahre 1648 von Zaja Pandita eingeführte Alphabet nicht gleich mitbehandelt worden ist, hätten wir doch auf diese Weise ein komplettes Kapitel über alle mongolische Schriftsysteme erhalten. Man muss allerdings dem Autor zugutehalten, dass er eine Grammatik des Schriftmongolischen und nicht des Schriftoiratischen (Kalmückischen) geschrieben hat.

Der Abschnitt IV behandelt alle wortbildenden Suffixe, solche die denominalen Nomina bilden (Paragraph 108–140), solche die deverbale Nomina bilden (Paragraph 141–182), und schliesslich diejenigen, welche von Adverbien gebildet werden (Paragraph 183–184), weiters die Bildung der Pronomina (Paragraph 185–192), die Bildung der Numeralia (Paragraph 193–204) — wobei ein bisher unbekanntes Zahlwort für „zwei“ *jirin*, welches sich nur auf das weibliche Geschlecht bezieht, besprochen wird. Vergleiche dazu: *jitüger* < **jir-tü-ger* „Nebenweib, zweites Weib“ und *jiči* „Enkelkind der zweiten Generation“ (siehe N. Poppe, 'Mongolische Zahlwörter', *Sbornik Jazykovednyx*

Problem, I, Leningrad 1927). Die Bildung der Adverba (Paragraph 205–218) ist vom linguistischen Standpunkte aus besonders interessant, da eine Reihe von wichtigen Etymologien geboten werden, wie z.B. **do* die Wurzel für *door-a* „darunter“ und *doγoyši* „nieder“ oder **dota* > **doto* > *dotoγši* „hinein“ und *dotor-a* „innerhalb“ oder **ina* die Wurzel für *inaru* „vorher“ und *inaγši* „hierher“ usw. Unter den Bildungselementen für Verba (Paragraph 220–259) finden wir eine bisher niemals erwähnte Form auf *-l-* (Paragraph 227), die nur in der vorklassischen Sprache auftaucht und eine kausativische Funktion hat, z.B. *sayu-* „sich niedersetzen“ und *sayu-l-* „setzen, stellen, legen“. Die klassische Entsprechung ist das Suffix *-lγa-*. Sehr wichtig ist die ausführliche Behandlung der kombinierten Aktionsarten.

Der Abschnitt V, die Formenlehre, bietet ebenfalls viel Neues, z.B. die Formen auf *-nad|ned*, *aq-a* > *aq-a-nad* „ältere Brüder“ und die fossile Form *aqamad* < **aq-a-mad* „die Älteren, Führer“ (Paragraph 262–263), wovon ein altes Suffix *-mad|med* erschlossen werden kann, das Suffix *-n*, z.B. *elēi* „Gesandter“, *elēn* „die Gesandten“; *γagai* „Schwein“, *γagan* „Schweine“. Unter Paragraph 320 finden wir zum ersten Male eine vollständige Deklination des Personalpronomens der dritten Person mit allen seinen erschlossenen Stämmen. Weiters finden wir neue Erklärungen über das *nomen praesentis* *-i*, z.B. *ayis-* „sich nähern“ und *ayisui* „sich nähernd“ mit einem Bindevokal *-u-*; jedoch nach Stämmen, welche nicht konsonantisch enden, lediglich *-i*, z.B. *kemegde-i* „es wird gesagt, man erzählt sich, zitierend“. Paragraph 361 bringt die neue Erklärung, dass *-qun|kün* in der vorklassischen Sprache der Plural zu *-qui|-küi* ist (*nomen futuri*), z.B. *yabuqun* „jene, welche gehen werden“, desgleichen Paragraph 363, wo das vorklassische *-γai|-gei* als die Entsprechung zum klassischen *nomen imperfecti* auf *-γa|-ge* erklärt wird, z.B. *yabuyai* „einer, der aufgebrochen ist und noch immer am Marschieren ist“. Wichtig ist die neue Erklärung über das *converbum conditionale* (Paragraph 366), wonach *-basu|-besü* in Verbindung mit dem Präsens und Futurum mit „wenn“, mit dem Präteritum jedoch mit „als“ zu übersetzen ist, desgleichen, dass im Vorklassischen diesem Suffix die Partikel *-ber* angehängt, wird welches im Neumongolischen in Verbindung mit einem Negativum zu einem konzessiven Konverb geworden ist, z.B. *yabubasu ber* „wenn er geht“ (vorklassisch), („obgleich er geht“, klassisch oder neumongolisch). Der Paragraph 381 fasst in Tafeln alle Paradigmata zusammen und bietet sie neben der transkribierten auch in der mongolisch geschriebenen Form. Die letzten drei Paragraphen (384–386) sind absolut neue Forschungsergebnisse, das Verb *bü-* mit allen seinen defektiven Formen im Vor- und Klassischem: *büilige* ~ *bile*, *büjügü* ~ *büjüküi* (nur vorklassisch), *bügsen* (nur vorklassisch), *bür-ün* (vorkl. u. klassisch) usw. Eine andere bisher nicht beachtete Ausnahme ist die von *bol-* „werden“ abgeleitete Form *bolai* „er ist“. Schliesslich wird das Verb *bul-* „sein“ mit seinen Nebenformen *bi* ~ *bei* ~ *bai* (umgangssprachlich) geboten.

Der Abschnitt VI schliesslich ist der bemerkenswerteste in N. Poppes neuem Buche. Keine Grammatik vor ihm hat die mongolische Syntax so ausführlich behandelt. Es ist keine Übertreibung zu sagen, dass ausser den grundlegenden syntaktischen Eigentümlichkeiten, fast alles neu und zum ersten Male dargestellt ist, z.B. die vielen Bemerkungen über den Unterschied zwischen vorkl. und klassischer Syntax (z.B. Paragraph 392, 393), das Kalenderwesen (Paragraph 398), und schliesslich die Behandlung der Kasus, denen N. Poppe besondere Sorgfalt widmet und mit minutiöser Genauigkeit untersucht und klassifiziert.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass diese neue schriftmongolische Grammatik N. Poppes ein neues Meisterstück des bedeutendsten jetzt lebenden Mongolisten ist, das durch die dem Autor eigene ausserordentliche Beherrschung mehrerer mongolischer Sprachen wie in einem einzigen perfekten Guss konzipiert erscheint, und dass es in gleicher Weise die altaistischen Studien, die dank Prof. Poppes Wirken in der westlichen Welt in einem bemerkenswerten Aufstieg begriffen sind, beleben werden, wie es seine zahlreichen Aufsätze und Bücher in dem letzten Dezennium getan haben. Darüber-

hinaus hat Poppes neue Grammatik unschätzbaren Wert für den Sprachwissenschaftler schlechthin, da es methodisch ein klassisches Beispiel für eine reife, saubere, und im echten Sinne wissenschaftliche Behandlung eines grammatischen Themas darstellt.

Dem Verlage Otto Harrassowitz gebührt besonderer Dank für die Herstellung ausgezeichnete Tabellen, für die schöne photostatische Wiedergabe mongolischer Lettern im einzelnen, und für übersichtliches Arrangement und vorbildliche Gesamtausführung im Allgemeinen.

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Udo Posch

G. D. Sanžeev, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skich jazykov*, Tom I (Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedenija). Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1953.

Die hier besprochene Arbeit stellt gewissermaßen eine Fortsetzung des schon 1952 in den *Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija*, IV, S. 30–125 erschienenen Artikels 'Mongol'skie jazyki i dialekty' dar, mit dem sie bis S. 71 fast identisch ist. Dieser ihr erster Teil ist bereits von N. Poppe in den *HJAS*, 17 (1954), besprochen worden, so daß ich ihn im folgenden nicht zu behandeln brauche.

Sanžeev's Werk erschien, nachdem in der UdSSR die historische mongolistische Sprachwissenschaft eine lange Pause durchmachte. Es wird also interessant sein, zu beobachten, wieweit es dem Vf. gelungen ist, das Werk Vladimircovs wiederaufzunehmen und fortzuführen.

Ich werde bei der Besprechung über kleinere Fehler – und deren hat diese Arbeit nicht wenige – hinweggehen und nur einige besonders krasse Mängel herausheben. Allgemein möchte ich bemerken, daß zur Zitierung des MNT (*Mongγol-un ni'uča tobč'a'an*) die Wahl der Kozinschen Transkription keineswegs als glücklich zu bezeichnen ist.

Der erste Teil („Phonetischer Abriß“) handelt über Bestand und Werden der mo. Laute, wobei besonderer Wert auf die Entwicklung von *č, *ti, *j, *di, sowie die sogenannte *i*-Brechung gelegt wurde. Sichtlich sind es gerade diese zuletzt erwähnten Fälle, wo S. Neues zu bieten hat.¹

Auf S. 94 gibt S. Tabellen, die offenbar ein lückenloses Bild der Entwicklung von *č, *ti in den mo. Dialekten durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch geben sollen. (Aus den beigelegten Beispielen läßt sich u.a. ersehen, daß „Boot“ im Burjätischen des 15. Jh. *ongoso* hieß usw.) Diese Tabellen tragen rein spekulativen Charakter, denn, abgesehen davon, daß ausreichende mo. Belege erst im 13. Jh. einsetzen (S. beginnt seine Tabellen mit dem 7. Jh.) und wir über ältere mo. Dialektunterschiede vorerst noch zu wenig wissen, widerspricht S. hier sich selbst: während er nach seiner Tabelle für das Burjät. č > š und ts > s im 14.–15. Jh. ansetzt, sagt er auf S. 9 seiner Arbeit, daß „nach Aufzeichnungen russischer Kosaken und Woiwoden zu urteilen, im 17. Jh. die burjät. Dialekte noch die Konsonanten s, ts, č kannten, denen heute h, s, š entspricht, anders gesagt, damals zwischen dem burjät. und dem Khalkha-Dialekt auf dem Gebiet der Phonetik noch nicht jene wesentlichen Unterschiede bestanden, die sie heute aufweisen“. Das gleiche gilt für die Tabellen über *j, *di auf S. 100.

Auf S. 109 konstruiert S. an Hand der Entsprechungen zu mo. *qadiγar „Zügel“ in den einzelnen Dialekten drei *i*-Brechungen:

1. (7.–10. Jh.): *d bleibt und erhält sich auch später, da *i* in einen anderen Vokal übergeht, daher *qadiγar > qadaγar > qadār (moγol).
2. (10.–12. Jh.): *di > ji; *i* unterliegt dann in vielen Dialekten der bekannten Brechung, daher *qadiγar > qajiγar > qajayar > qadzayar > xadzār (khalkha), xazār (burjät.).
3. (14.–15. Jh.): *j bleibt bewahrt, sowohl, wenn *i* gebrochen wird, als auch, wenn es erhalten bleibt. Daher qajiγar > xadzār (ordos), jiryal > žargal ~ jargal (burjät.).

Schon die Bezeichnung *i*-Brechung für Stufe 1 ist falsch. Es gibt nur eine *i*-Brechung, die nachweisbar im 14. Jh. begann. Es handelt sich hier einfach um alte Parallelförmungen (Vokalwechsel in der 2. Silbe ist im Mo. nicht selten) **qadiyar* ~ **qadayar*. Nicht zufällig kann S. deshalb auch keinen Wechsel **i* ~ andere Vokale für alte Zeit in der ersten Silbe feststellen. Ordos *xadžār* geht in Ordnung, weil dieser Dialekt ja *dž* (= *f*) stets bewahrt. Ferner: Die *i*-Brechung erfolgte offenbar zur gleichen Zeit, als *č*, *ǰ* begannen, sich in *ts*, *dz* zu entwickeln. Daher Inkonsistenzen im Khalkha wie mo. *čisun* > *tsusa*, aber mo. *čida* > *tšada*. Daraus erklärt sich mit Leichtigkeit alles Übrige. Eine ruckweise Entwicklung der *i*-Brechung anzunehmen, ist überflüssig und steht im Widerspruch zu allen Erfahrungen. Die Tabelle auf S. 110 ist daher wieder rein spekulativ.

Auch in der Deklination (ab S. 127) finden sich oft unvollständige und falsche Angaben, so in der Aufzählung der Formen des Personalpronomens der 3. Person (S. 152): *inü* gibt es nicht und belegt sind tatsächlich folgende Formen: sg. *inu*, *imadur*, *imada* (MNT), *imayi*, *ima-ača*, *ima-bar*, *ima-lurča*, pl. *anu*, *andur* (MNT), *ana* (Abaγa-Brief, HJAS 15), *ani* (MNT). Auch die Darstellung der Verhältnisse beim Dativ-Lokativ ist sowohl morphologisch als auch syntaktisch völlig mißglückt, worauf ich hier nicht eingehen kann. (Ich habe u.a. gerade diese Frage in meiner Dissertation untersucht.)

Den sicherlich wertvollsten und am meisten Richtiges bietenden Teil der S.schen Arbeit stellt die (ab S. 181 folgende) Syntax des Nomens dar. Allerdings leidet sie durchweg unter dem Mangel, daß sie die historische Entwicklung in keiner Weise darstellt, weshalb gerade dieser Abschnitt den Titel „Vergleichende (= Historische) Grammatik“ in keiner Weise verdient. Daß z.B. in der älteren Sprache die Kasus auf *-a*, *-da* zusammengehören und semantisch geschieden sind von *-dur*, ist S. unbekannt. Auch gilt z.B. für das klassische Mo.,² daß als Kasus des direkten Objekts im Mo. stets der Akkusativ (nicht der *casus indefinitus*) gilt, wenn das Objekt durch Demonstrativpronomen oder Angabe des Besitzers erweitert ist – während für MNT diese Regel durchaus noch nicht gilt.³ Allgemein gesagt: MNT und Schriftsprache unterscheiden sich im syntaktischen Gebrauch und die Dialekte tun dies wieder in jeweils spezifischer Weise, bei S. jedoch wird alles durcheinandergewürfelt und so das falsche Bild einer starren Monotonie innerhalb der syntaktischen Entwicklung des Mo. erweckt.

Schließlich folgt ab S. 104 eine wirklich gute Zusammenstellung des Gebrauchs der Postpositionen, die allerdings auch wieder nur deskriptiv ist, sonst hätte es S. nicht entgehen dürfen, daß z.B. *metü* im MNT noch keine Postposition, sondern ein Adjektiv ist.⁴ Aber gerade MNT hat bei S. viel zu wenig Beachtung gefunden.

Ich glaube, daß auch nach S.s Arbeit, trotz vieler darin enthaltener guter Beobachtungen und Zusammenstellungen, das Desiderat einer historischen mo. Grammatik weiterhin bestehen bleibt.

Berlin-Reinickendorf

G. Doerfer

¹ Im übrigen ist die mo. vergleichende Phonetik ja im wesentlichen bereits von Vladimircov, Poppe u.a. behandelt worden, wenngleich ein abschließendes Werk darüber noch aussteht.

² Vgl. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, § 513 b, c.

³ Vgl. MNT § 18 *ede γurban kō'ūd tōre'ülbi* „sie gebar diese drei Söhne“, § 66 *ōki inu iŋebesü* „als er seine Tochter erblickte“.

⁴ Vgl. MNT § 245 *čigöd narad metüs de'üner* „die Fichten und Kiefern gleichen jüngeren Brüder“.

J. B. van Loon

Ta'rihk-i Shaikh Uwais
(History of Shaikh Uwais)

An Important Source for the History of Ādharbajān in the
Fourteenth Century

1954. IV, 100 pages English, 51 pages Persian text. Gld. 12.50

The history which is the subject of the present study is one of the works of reference dealing with the decay of the Mongolian period in Persia. It owes its importance to its early origin, which may be put at about 1360, and also to the fact, that it deals especially with the history of one of the most important dynasties which became heir to part of the Mongolian empire, viz. the Jalāyirs. It may be said that "Ta'rihk-i Shaikh Uwais" is an important source of knowledge about the history of North-west Persia and about the contacts with the Dasht-i Qipchāg in Southern Russia.

Rudolf Sellheim

Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen, insbesondere
die des Abū 'Ubad

1954. VIII, 164 Seiten, broschiert. Gld. 16.—

Nachdem in der Einleitung ein Überblick über die europäischen Arbeiten zu den arabischen Sprichwörtern und Sprichwörtersammlungen seit dem 17. Jahrhundert gegeben ist, wird im ersten Kapitel der Begriff „maṭāl“ im Anschluss an die Definitionen arabischer Philologen des 3.—5. Jahrhunderts d.H. definiert. Hierbei ergibt sich, dass „maṭāl“ bald „Sprichwort“, bald „sprichwörtliche Redensart“, bald „Spruchweisheit“ oder „formelhafte Redewendung“ bedeutet. Danach wird die Frage des Alters und der Herkunft der klassisch-arabischen amṭāl und der zu ihnen erzählten Geschichten an Hand von Beispielen untersucht. Im 2.—5. Kapitel wird ein Abriss der klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen bis auf al-Maidānī's gegeben. Es werden Viten der Autoren solcher Sammlungen und handschriftliche Angaben ihrer erhaltenen amṭāl-Werke gebracht; ferner werden Quellen, Aufbau und Inhalt dieser Sammlungen behandelt und Abhängigkeitsfragen, bis ins einzelne gehend, geklärt. Im Mittelpunkt steht die bedeutsame Sammlung des Abū 'Ubad und ihr Kommentar von al-Bakrī. Eine ausführliche Bibliographie und ein Index beschliessen das Buch.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, WIESBADEN (GERMANY)

GÖTTINGER ASIATISCHE FORSCHUNGEN

MONOGRAPHIENREIHE ZUR GESCHICHTE, SPRACHE UND
LITERATUR DER VÖLKER SÜD-, OST- UND ZENTRALASIENS

herausgegeben von

WALTHER HEISSIG, SIEGFRIED LIENHARD, OMEJAN PRITSAK

BAND 1

Peter Olbricht

Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft
im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert

1954. 111 Seiten, broschiert DM 14.—

In diesem Werk wird der Versuch unternommen, auf Grund einer erst in der Gegenwart wieder bekanntgewordenen chinesischen Handschrift amtlicher Dokumente aus den Jahren 1229—1330, Aufbau und Wirken des chinesischen Post- und Kurierwesens zu untersuchen und darzustellen. Es geht dabei dem Verfasser nicht nur um eine Darstellung des bereits von Marco Polo gerühmten Postbetriebes im Großen, sondern im besonderen behandelt er den Tätigkeitsbereich der einzelnen Beamten dieser Staatsinstitution. Die hier erschlossenen neuen Urkunden erlauben auch interessante Rückschlüsse auf das tatsächliche Leben im Yüan-Reich und auf die Auswirkungen der paragraphierten Verordnungen.

BAND 2

Walther Heissig

Die Peking lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache
Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte

1954. XVI, 220 Seiten mit Abbildungen im Text und auf 18 Tafeln, broschiert DM 42.—

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird die in Peking während der Herrschaft der Mandju-Dynastie zwischen dem 17. und 20. Jahrhundert entstandene und gedruckte lamaistische Übersetzungs- und Kommentarliteratur in mongolischer Sprache, von welcher neben den großen Sammlungen des Kandjur und Tandjur insgesamt 220 einzelne Werke und Sammlungen nachgewiesen werden konnten, ihrem Inhalt nach kurz beschrieben. Die an ihrer Entstehung beteiligten Personen und Kräfte werden aufgezeigt und ihre Zusammenhänge mit dem geschichtlichen Geschehen untersucht. Über den Charakter einer literaturgeschichtlichen Untersuchung hinaus machen genaue bibliographische Angaben, Signaturen, eine Liste der chinesischen buchhändlerischen Kennzeichen usw. das Buch auch zu einer unentbehrlichen Hilfe für die sachgemäße Aufnahme und Katalogisierung mongolischer Blockdruckbestände in Sammlungen und Bibliotheken.

Weitere Bände sind in Vorbereitung